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IDENTITIES AND ALLEGIANCES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AFTER 1204



EDITED BY

JUDITH HERRIN AND GUILLAUME SAINT-GUILLAIN

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Contents

PART II: ON THE PERIPHERIES OF BYZANTIUM

PART III: WESTERN INTERESTS

PART IV: CONCLUSIONS

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Charlotte Roueché is Professor of Late Antique and Byzantine Studies at King's College London. She has extensive experience in the publication of classical and Byzantine materials in digital form: see two volumes of the inscriptions from Aphrodisias, at http:insaph.kcl.ac.uk. Since 2005 she has chaired the Committee for the Prosopography of the Byzantine World. Her current research project, Register Medicorum Medii Aevi, is intended to explore collaborative publication of medieval sources online, in an attempt to engage with some of the issues raised in this volume.

Guillaume Saint-Guillain is Newton Fellow in the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, King's College London. He works on Latin presence and cross-cultural relations in late Byzantium, Byzantine and Venetian prosopography, and insularity in the late medieval Aegean. He has published several articles on those subjects and recently co-edited (with Marie-France Auzépy) *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge (Occident, Byzance, Islam): parole donnée, foi jurée, serment* (Paris, 2008).

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List of Maps

List of Figures

Unless otherwise stated, all illustrations in Chapter 8 are courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Museum and Collection.

List of Tables

Chapter 1

Introduction
Defining Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204

Charlotte Roueché

This volume of studies is in many senses interdisciplinary. It marks the confluence of developments in medieval history, in the uses of prosopography, and in digital humanities. Each area has been influencing processes in the others, often barely perceptibly. This is an excellent moment to take stock of the situation, to assess the achievements of the past and sketch out proposals for the future.

The Backgrounds: Prosopography

In August 2006 the International Association for Byzantine Studies held its 21st International Congress in London, hosted by the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. This event brought about a thousand Byzantinists to London from all corners of the globe. On 24 August, at an evening reception at King's College London, the local research team launched a major new resource in Byzantine Studies – the online Prosopography of the Byzantine World, covering the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

This project, sponsored by the British Academy, had a long history. The original inspiration was the heroic undertaking by Theodor Mommsen, to produce the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*.[1]

That project was principally source-driven – that is, it was developed in response to the accumulation of a very large number of Latin career inscriptions in Mommsen's major project, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The evidence came from a definable political and geographic entity, the Roman Empire; the nature of the sources suggested limitation of the work to office-holders and members of the ruling class. These limitations made good sense within the historiography of the time, and made it feasible to publish the material in book form, although

1 See Werner Eck, 'The *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* and Prosopographical Method', in Averil M. Cameron (ed.), *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 11–22.

this has presented increasing problems for updating as archaeological activity has expanded, producing a regular flow of new inscriptions.

Mommsen had himself envisaged a further project, to cover the Later Roman Empire (from 284), which was undertaken by the French and British Academies after the Second World War. Already the source materials were more varied, and accommodating the information was a greater problem. It was agreed that coverage should still be limited to the ruling classes; but the existence of very different categories of sources made it sensible to separate secular and ecclesiastical officials – the secular became the responsibility of the British Academy, while ecclesiastical officials were assigned to the CNRS in Paris. The *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 250–641, covering the secular officials, was published in book form, between 1972 and 1991. Several volumes covering ecclesiastical officials of various regions have also been published.[2]

By the late 1980s, when discussion of the next period began, it was clear that the future was electronic. It was also clear that electronic publication would allow far fuller coverage than in any earlier study. At the same time, historiography had evolved to be far more inclusive; the limitation to the study of a ruling elite might have been justified on purely practical grounds, but once the constraints of paper publication were removed, it no longer appeared acceptable. Work on the *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*, 641–867, began in the early 1990s at King's College London. It collected information on all identifiable individuals within the Byzantine Empire in an exceptionally difficult historical period, during which the empire, and the medieval world of the Mediterranean area, were in a state of dramatic transformation. PBE was published in 2001 on a CD, but readable through a web-browser. While the project team had to deal with sources of every kind, what made the undertaking feasible was their relative scarcity.

The prosopography of the period 867–1025 was undertaken by the Berlin Academy and proceeds on paper.[3] But the British Academy was responsible for the period 1025–1204, and was confronted with further developments, technological and intellectual. By the early twenty-first century it had become clear that electronic resources could not only be read using a web-browser, but could be published directly on the web. This further eliminated considerations of space; it again made possible (and so required) the inclusion of all identifiable individuals. The larger challenge was intellectual. A historiographical undertaking that had its origins in the conventional career descriptions of Roman imperial office-holders had had to accommodate a new hierarchy, in the church, and then a new approach, in recording individuals at every level. But at least until 867 it was possible to focus on 'the Byzantine Empire'. For the eleventh-century material

[2] See John R. Martindale, 'The *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Volume 1: The Era of A.H.M. Jones', in Cameron (ed.), *Prosopography*, pp. 3–10.

[3] Ralph-Johannes Lilie *et alii*, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Abteilung I: 641–867* (Berlin–New York, 1998–2002); in preparation: *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Abteilung II: 867–1025* (Berlin–New York: W. de Gruyter).

a new problem arose, as foreign individuals, who could not be described in any official relationship to the Byzantine Empire, came to play an increasing role in its history. For that reason it was agreed to rename the project, as the Prosopography of the Byzantine World.

Like all the preceding enterprises, this one also is determined by its sources. The list provided by the web publication makes it clear which ones have so far been analysed. In December 2002 the British Academy hosted a workshop specifically to examine the non-Greek sources for PBW in this period; the proceedings were published as *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*,[4] which is now available online.[5] A further venture, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, studied several relevant Arabic sources, and the material from these, and from some Armenian materials, is being added to the web publication by experts in the fields. The nature of web publication also means that materials can continue to be added. PBW is therefore an analysis of a particular group of sources; it is envisaged that material will continue to be added from other sources from time to time, thereby resolving the problem of accommodating new analyses and new materials.

The Thirteenth Century

By 2006, therefore, the entire project had evolved into something very different from Mommsen's original publication. Moreover, it was clear that the future would be even more different. While materials are still being added to the online resource, future planning has to be for perhaps the most complex undertaking of all: the provision of a prosopographical analysis of the period 1204 to 1261, when there was no Greek state based on Constantinople. Thus, by many definitions, there was no Byzantine Empire. Yet in 1204 the imperial role was claimed by the rulers of the Fourth Crusade, while many of the defeated Byzantines moved elsewhere to keep Byzantine organisms alive for rebirth, resulting in the creation of three (for a time four) Greek successor states. In 1261 the Byzantine Empire of Constantinople was re-established by the exiled leaders from Nicaea. The prosopography of that empire, from 1261 to 1453, has been covered by the Austrian Academy.[6] What is far less clear is what had happened to Byzantium in the interim; where was Byzantium between 1204 and 1261? Who are the Byzantines of the thirteenth century that a Prosopography of the Byzantine World should study?

A further problem arises because the period as a whole is seriously understudied, even if parts have been the subject of scrupulous analysis. The fragmentation of the

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4 Mary Whitby (ed.), *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 132 (Oxford, 2007; repr. 2008).

5 See http://www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/cat/pba.cfm, accessed 13 September 2010.

6 See Erich Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vols 1–12 and two supplements (Vienna, 1976–90).

old Byzantine world is such that it is extremely difficult to find general questions that may be asked over the whole area: in Latin Constantinople, in Greek Nicaea, Epiros and Trebizond, on the Slavic and Turkish borders, in the Venetian colonies, in the Morea and Cyprus, where recent research has found signs of territorial proto-nationality, and on an Aegean island, perhaps ruled by a proto-capitalist Genoese trader and pirate. This fragmentation makes the careful study of individuals both more difficult and more valuable than ever before, as we follow their negotiations in such variety. Moreover, relationship to the Byzantine centres of power can prove a useful standpoint from which to open up the period to research, raising questions of legitimacy and legitimization, empire and other power structures, allegiances of all kinds, and religious, linguistic and cultural identities.

From the foundation of its capital in 330, the Byzantine identity was itself a complex one, based on political allegiance to an ill-defined Rome and a definite religious commitment to Orthodox Christianity, with an omnipresent Greek element, rooted in language, that was intensified among intellectuals educated in the ancient Attic Greek classics. Even the word, Byzantium, is problematic, never being used at the time as an imperial name, but only as a local way of referring to the city of Constantinople. But its anachronistic status can be an advantage, as it holds together a portmanteau of associations that other names may oversimplify or distort. Byzantium was quintessentially an empire with a strong claim to universality and eternity and a centre in the New Rome of the city of Constantine. After 1204, many of these elements were removed or profoundly redefined, temporarily or for ever, in the Latin Empire and other states with imperial ambitions. What was the character of the Byzantium that remained, and survived till 1261?

The Colloquium

Faced with this complex material, the project team decided to hold a colloquium, *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Thirteenth Century: Building a Prosopographical Methodology of Identities and Allegiances*. With the generous support of the British Academy this took place in March 2007. The aim was to bring together experts on the Byzantine world of the period (including the doubtfully Byzantine states inserted at and near its heart) together with its most important neighbours. They were asked to address the self-projection of the states/entities concerned, and their interactions, which are themselves to be found in the experiences and self-description of individuals.

Crucial elements included many of the determinants of statehood at any period: control of territory, adoption and ceremonial use of symbols, names (self-projected and given by others), coins, the language of international diplomacy and legitimization by popular acceptance, both within the boundaries of the state under discussion and outside them. The last issue was of particular importance here, as in many areas the existence of a loyal Byzantine population has been hypothesized in areas of non-Greek rule, which have often preserved only restricted signs of

them in the historical record. But in each case the nature of the sources will have a determining role, which must be regularly restated.

While the colloquium included contributions devoted to Islamic and papal sources, Jo van Steenbergen discovered that there was insufficient evidence to justify a publication of the Arabic material, and Christoph Egger decided not to publish his most interesting contribution on the papal documents of the period. Ruth Macrides, who had presented the sources from the empire of Nicaea at the colloquium, invited Vincent Puech to take her place in this volume, and Guillaume Saint-Guillain, who agreed to act as co-editor, also contributed a new analysis of some of the copious Venetian material. Cécile Morrisson, who had offered some fascinating observations about the coinage of the Latin emperors of Constantinople in her concluding remarks, most generously agreed to expand them into a paper on metallic identities. In other respects the volume presents most of the material from the colloquium of March 2007.

One outcome of this event and the material published here, therefore, is a better understanding of how to study individuals, institutions and states in this complex period, where the death-throes of direct inheritance from Ancient Rome meet the first colonialist stirrings of European nationalism and capital in the West, and the formation and reformation of new and older states in the East. But we also see this discussion as having a more general application. The issues that it raises, of transitional and fluid 'identities', are not unique to this period, but simply far more obvious. In the past such fluidities have often been obscured by the format imposed by print publication, with its need to impose limits on any intellectual investigation. The era of electronic publication changes the situation; while any one enterprise must still operate within limits, those limits can offer an interface with other such enterprises. Since the colloquium we have been involved in wide-ranging discussions as to how we can create structures and protocols to facilitate collaborative research along such boundaries. This volume demonstrates how enormously enriching it can be to cross over into 'alien' territory: we very much hope to encourage and facilitate such transgressions.

PART I
The Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade

Chapter 2
The Lost Generation (*c.*1204–*c.*1222): Political Allegiance and Local Interests under the Impact of the Fourth Crusade

Teresa Shawcross

'As we left the City [of Constantinople] behind [...] I threw myself, just as I was, on the ground and reproached the walls because they alone were insensible, and neither shed tears nor lay in ruins upon the earth, but still remained upright. "If those things for whose protection you were built", I said, "no longer exist, being utterly destroyed by fire and war, for what purpose do you still stand?"'[1] The author of these lines, Niketas Choniates, concludes his *Chronike diegesis* (*Χρονικὴ διήγησις*) with a harrowing eye-witness account of the fall of the Queen of Cities. He gives us a picture of himself as a refugee taking one last look back at the land-walls that had withstood so many other assaults only to prove useless at the end, and he describes how, overwhelmed by grief, he wept for the occupied city he had just left. The words of lamentation he would later claim to have uttered when walking out of the city appear to have struck a chord in those who had shared in the same experiences. After all, already in the early thirteenth century, the passages in question penned by Choniates, dealing specifically with 'the fall of the City and its aftermath', were circulating independently of his wider historical narrative.[2] For subsequent generations, too, it would be this particular account

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* Versions of this paper were given at the workshop 'The Eastern Mediterranean in the Thirteenth Century: Identities and Allegiances' (The British Academy, 2007) and the colloquium 'Between Crusaders and Byzantines: The Medieval Morea' (Princeton University, 2007). I have benefited from discussions with Judith Herrin and Andreas Lyberatos, and owe a particular debt of gratitude to Johannes Hahn for reading through an early draft of the argument presented here.

[1] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I.A. van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin–New York, 1975), vol. 1, p. 591; cited in English after *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, transl. H.J. Magoulias (Detroit, MI, 1984).

[2] This shorter work was often copied alongside the *Panoplia dogmatike*, a theological encyclopaedia written by Choniates. See *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, pp. XCI–XCIII, and Alicia Simpson, 'Before and After 1204: The Versions of Niketas Choniates' Historia', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 60 (2006): pp. 205–12. Further information was given by Elizabeth Jeffreys in her unpublished communication ('The Fourth Crusade

of 'all the evil deeds perpetrated against the City / by those wild brutes – the westerners and Latins' that would come to be considered as the standard account; thus, a fourteenth-century commentator urged his fellows to read Choniates attentively because they would find there 'the laments in their entirety, and much more besides'.[3] Even today, the content of the *Chronike diegesis* continues to exercise considerable influence over our perceptions of the Fourth Crusade. When seeking to understand and analyse the events from the point of view of the vanquished, one still tends to turn to this text.

Yet 1204, although undoubtedly a cataclysm for Constantinople and Constantinopolitans, was a date of significance for more than a single city and its citizens, since western ambitions were by no means limited to the acquisition and sack of the capital of the Byzantine Empire. One member of the crusade, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, describing the Franco-Venetian fleet as it set sail from Corfu after meeting with the young Alexios Angelos, explicitly comments that the decision to divert from the original route planned for the expedition was a decision inseparable from a desire for territorial gains.[4] Reinforcing his point in another passage, the same author relates the story of the fleet's encounter, as it rounded the southern tip of the Peloponnese and made its way up towards the Bosporos, with two vessels returning from Syria. On board one of these vessels was a sergeant who decided to abandon the spoils he had already amassed and jump ship, so as to join Boniface de Montferrat and his companions in their venture. When interrogated regarding his conduct, the sergeant, according to Villehardouin, stated that he had acted as he had done because it seemed to him that the men commanded by Boniface 'were likely to win lands' for themselves.[5] Certainly, already on the eve of the second attack on Constantinople, an agreement had been hastily drawn up and signed in the crusader camp, whose provisions included the appointment of a commission to decide how the entirety of the territories ruled by the city were to be carved up and allotted to the different participants in the siege.[6] Once Constantinople had been captured that commission duly got to work using tax records and other material. Moreover, even as the 12 men laboured to produce a document, the *Partitio Romaniae*, that would formalize arrangements,[7] the first actual foray into the western regions of the former empire was already being undertaken by crusader

and its repercussions on the Greek literary world') delivered at the Oxford Byzantine Studies Seminar in 2005.

[3] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. VII.

[4] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. J. Dufournet (Paris, 2004), §120.

[5] Ibid. §122.

[6] Two versions of the pact are edited by Gottlieb Lukas Friedrich Tafel and Georg Martin Thomas (eds), *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom Neunten biz zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Vienna, 1856), vol. 1, pp. 444–52.

[7] See ibid., vol. 1, pp. 464–88.

forces, and the cities and fortresses of Thrace were beginning to surrender. A few months later, the marquis of Montferrat, the erstwhile leader of the crusade, now proclaimed lord of the Kingdom of Thessalonike, would leave Thermopylai behind him as he headed southwards with his army to Boiotia, Attica and further still, all the way to the Peloponnese.[8] The conquest of the provinces of the Byzantine Empire, it would seem, not only formed part of the agenda of the crusaders from early on, but was pursued with considerable determination.

This chapter, in examining the impact of the Fourth Crusade, concerns itself with the occupation as experienced by those people who have hitherto often been overlooked, namely the inhabitants of the former imperial provinces or *themata*.[9] The focus will be on the responses of the generation that not only possessed first-hand knowledge of what it meant to be a Byzantine subject but also lived through the crucial transitional decades of the early thirteenth century, interacting with the new regime that was in the process of imposing itself. At issue here is the extent to which individual members of the higher strata of society, and most notably those whom contemporary texts refer to as the *archontes*, underwent a crisis of allegiance. The *archontes* formed a group of a rather fluid and ill-defined nature whose primary characteristic was the fact that, until the appearance of the crusaders, it had been the main beneficiary of the considerable material resources that were available locally in the provinces.[10] Sometimes holding imperial offices or titles, and always constituting the eminent citizens and chief notables of a specific community such as a city, members of the archontic class generally appear to have dedicated themselves to the care of public affairs, taking a keen interest

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8 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, pp. 598–612; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet, §§269–333.

9 The main study on the subject is Michael S. Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks (1204–1261): A Study of the Greek Population and the Orthodox Church under The Frankish Dominion* (Ioannina, 1987), while further insights can also be found in Nikos G. Zacharopoulos, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία στὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τὴ Φραγκοκρατία* (Thessalonike, 1981); Robert L. Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1 (1954): pp. 225–305; and Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London–New York, 1995), pp. 70–75.

10 Michael Angold, 'Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire', in Michael Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 236–53; Judith Herrin, 'Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government: Hellas and Peloponnesos', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 29 (1975): pp. 253–84; Leonora Neville, *Local Provincial Elites in Eleventh-century Hellas and Peloponnese*, PhD thesis (Princeton University, 1998), and Leonora Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950–1100* (Cambridge, 2004); Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 266–7; David Jacoby, 'Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 84–5 (1991–92): pp. 476–80.

in regional politics.[11] In terms of geographical area, central and southern Greece – an area extending roughly 'from Tempe to Sparta' that prior to the crusade had constituted the double administrative unit or imperial province of Hellas and the Peloponnese – can be argued to present particular interest.[12] This province, whose lands had been referred to by Constantinopolitans as the 'lowlands' and whose populations were known as 'lowlanders',[13] had suffered from the Slav invasions of the seventh and eighth centuries, but had begun to recover economically in the ninth century and was transformed into an inner territory far removed from the troubles besetting the marches.[14] By the twelfth century it was experiencing growth and prosperity on an unprecedented scale.[15] The Peloponnese, for instance, had over 40 settlements of note, including 16 or so main cities as well as numerous fortresses, of which Corinth can be identified as the most important, while Patras, Arcadia, Navarino, Modon, Coron, Maina, Sparta or Lakedaimonia, Monemvasia and Argos should also be singled out because of their size or renown.[16] On the mainland, Athens and Thebes were major centres, as were Chalkis and Karystos in Euboia.[17]

Prior to the arrival of the crusaders, the urban fabric of these places appears to have provided the possibility of a comfortable lifestyle. Attractions included thriving permanent markets,[18] as well as the availability of *divertissements*, with individuals occupying their leisure hours by frequenting bath-houses,[19] by playing a game resembling polo called *tzykanion*,[20] or by attending the meetings

[11] *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. and transl. D.F. Sullivan (Brookline, 1987), pp. 110, 228, and *Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς: ὁ βίος του*, ed. D. Sophianos (Athens, 1993), pp. 52, 54, 74.

[12] *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Spyridon Lampros, 2 vols (Athens, 1879), vol. 1, p. 177. See also Antoine Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris, 1951), p. 92, and Anna Avraméa, *Le Péloponnèse du IVe au VIIIe siècle: changements et persistances* (Paris, 1997), pp. 31–8, 157.

[13] *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Lampros, vol. 1, pp. 307, 331; *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, ed. M. van der Valk, 4 vols (Leiden, 1971–87), vol. 2, p. 316; *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou (Berlin, 2001), Letters 28, 42, 53, 82.

[14] Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, pp. 27–87; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, p. 214; and Avraméa, *Le Péloponnèse*, pp. 53–108.

[15] Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 21–8.

[16] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi (Rome, 1952), p. 90; *Géographie d'Édrisi*, transl. P.-A. Jaubert, 2 vols (Paris, 1836), vol. 2, p. 124.

[17] Judith Herrin, 'The Ecclesiastical Organisation of Central Greece at the Time of Michael Choniates: New Evidence from the Codex Atheniensis 1371', *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines*, 4 vols (Athens, 1980), vol. 4, pp. 131–7.

[18] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ed. Jaubert, pp. 125–6; Nikolaos G. Svoronos, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantine et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: le Cadastre de Thèbes* (Athens, 1959), pp. 11–12, 14–16.

[19] Neville, *Local Provincial Elites*, pp. 59, 62.

[20] *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. Sullivan, p. 136.

and feasts of religious confraternities.[21] Wealth was derived from agriculture and manufacture destined for the export market: the two main commodities were olive oil and textiles, but other goods included thoroughbred horses, leather equipment, parchment, and iron weapons.[22] After the conquest, almost the entirety of the region was gradually drawn into the orbit of the Villehardouin rulers of the Principality of Morea or Achaia, themselves a dynasty with origins in Champagne that practised a ruthless policy of expansion at the expense of other conquerors and settlers. The principality together with its dependencies, such as the Duchy of Athens and the Triarchy of the Negropont, represent the ideal place to study crusader dominion at its most successful because it was there that this dominion was able to find roots and survive the longest.

The Sources

Certain difficulties are posed in this investigation by the nature of our sources. With regard to the immediate hinterland of Constantinople, it is possible to have recourse to witnesses such as the *Pactum Adrianopolitanum*, dating from the year 1206, that contains an agreement between, on the one hand, the leader of the Venetian contingent, and, on the other, a man referred to as 'the hereditary ruler and captain, most worthy Caesar, most noble Komnenos, lord Theodore Branas'.[23] The terms of the agreement recognize Branas' entitlement to govern Adrianople and its territories 'according to the customs of the Greeks'.[24] By contrast, further to the south, almost nothing has been preserved of the mass of documentation

[21] John Nesbitt and Jan Wiita, 'A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 68 (1975): pp. 360–84.

[22] *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 50 and 135; *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, pp. 73–6, 98; *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. Sullivan, pp. 110, 118, 228; *Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς*, ed. Sophianos, pp. 52, 54, 74; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik and transl. R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, DC, 1967), pp. 236, 256–7; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske, 2 vols (Bonn, 1829), vol. 1, p. 657; *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A.D. 1169–1192, Commonly Known under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London, 1867), vol. 2, pp. 199, 256; *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae*, ed. P. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), pp. 101–3; Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. and transl. M.N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 10; *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), p. 318; *Timarione*, ed. R. Romano (Naples, 1974), p. 54; Joshua Starr, 'The Epitaph of a Dyer in Corinth', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 12 (1936): pp. 42–9. For comments: Jacoby, 'Silk in Western Byzantium', pp. 476–80; Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, pp. 128–31; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 215, 266–7; Angold, 'Archons and Dynasts', p. 237; Konstantinos Kourelis, *Monuments of Rural Archaeology: Medieval Settlements in the North-Western Peloponnese* (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2003), pp. 134–42.

[23] Tafel and Thomas (eds), *Urkunden*, vol. 2, p. 18.

[24] Ibid.

generated during and after the conquest. Although there are indications that written documents played an important role in the regulation of the internal affairs of the Principality of Morea and its dependencies under the Villehardouin, and that a register of fiefs, proceedings of hearings held at the local courts, and deeds and charters all existed, the material that has survived generally takes the form of duplicates deposited in Italian archives; as such, it begins to come on tap in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, after acceptance by the principality of the suzerainty of the Angevin kings of Naples, and survives in abundance only for the period after the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

So, a series of inventories and acts of donation of estates dating from the fourteenth century provides us with a wealth of information concerning a range of individuals belonging to the indigenous population of the Peloponnese, from the completely destitute through to holders of major titles and offices.[25] However, even though many of the people attested in the fourteenth century are likely to have been the direct descendents of individuals who were already resident in the peninsula a hundred years earlier, only twice does it prove possible even to attempt to trace the bloodlines concerned. These cases are, first, that of John Mourmouras, a *protobestiarios* of the Principality of Morea in 1337, whose forebears could have been Sir Manuel and Lady Theodora Mourmouras, the donors responsible in 1244 for the decoration of the church of the Holy Trinity at Kranidi in the Argolid; and second, that of John Katomerites, a *nicarius* (a category of dependent peasants) of the region of Petoni in Messenia in 1344, whose forebears could have been John and Basil Katomerites, two brothers who are mentioned in documents of *c.*1239 recording a donation to the Teutonic Order of a farm at Chimeron near Veligosti.[26] All in all, comparing the first half of the thirteenth century with an equivalent time-span from the fourteenth century, one discovers that, whereas in the fourteenth century many hundreds of persons of apparently Greek ethnic background – perhaps well over a thousand – can be identified as active in an area corresponding to the maximum extent of the principality and its dependencies, in the thirteenth our grand total of individuals who are named or otherwise referred

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25 Among those referred to in, for instance, Jean Longnon and Peter Topping (eds), *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris–La Haye, 1969) are: 'the widow Dargana, who is *apora* (sic) and possesses nothing' (p. 41); 'Theophylact Tzamonopoulos, *nicaricus*' (p. 61); '*Papa* John Sabathes' (p. 61); 'John Staphylopates, *feudotarius*' (p. 62); 'the Treasurer of Kalamata, John Maroules' (p. 214); 'lord Stephen Koutroules, knight and [...] *protovestiarius* of [...] the Principality of Achaia' (p. 21).

26 Ibid., p. 35; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), p. 64; Denis Feissel and Anne Philippides-Braat, 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil d'inscriptions historiques de Byzance. III. Inscriptions du Peloponnèse (à l'exception de Mistra)', *Travaux et mémoires*, 9 (1985): pp. 311–12; *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici*, ed. E. Strehlke (Berlin, 1869), no. 130.

to in a precise manner scarcely exceeds 90.[27] Thus, a reading of all the available material yields 51 laymen and 41 clerics and monks.[28] No details whatsoever are available regarding a large proportion of these individuals. The existence of some for whom we do apparently have biographical vignettes, moreover, may well be apocryphal. One example of a possible invented individual is that of 'a maid called Constantina, who was the daughter of the archbishop of Athens'. Unattested in any witness of local provenance, this lady receives a mention only in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, where her existence is reported as hearsay. She is described as fluent in both Greek and Latin, and as having been generally so accomplished and learned that her knowledge of the subtler points of the trivium and quadrivium was superior to that of any clerk of the University of Paris. Such was the extent of her skills, indeed, we are told, that she could foretell pestilences, thunderstorms and other miraculous occurrences.[29]

If the ravages of time can be blamed in part for the restricted information available to us regarding the indigenous population of the former province of Hellas

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27 See Appendix below. Sources containing relevant prosopographical material are: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet; *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou; *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Strehlke; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*; Feissel and Philippides-Braat, 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil d'inscriptions'; *The Chronicle of Morea (Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως), A History of Political Verse, Relating to the Establishment of Feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. J. Schmitt (London, 1904); *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing (Berlin, 2002); Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Συνοδικὰ γράμματα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀποκαύκου, μητροπολίτου Ναυπάκτου', *Βυζαντίς*, 1 (1909): pp. 3–30; Nikos A. Bees and Helene Bees-Seferlis, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 21 (1971–74): pp. 55–243; *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols (London, 1872–83), vol. 5. As editions of the writings of John Apokaukos are scattered in a number of publications, it has been decided to use for the letters, where possible in the Appendix, the numbering system found in Kosmas Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος. Συμβουλή στην έρευνα του βίου και του συγγραφικού του έργου* (Athens, 1988).

28 Those for whom the sources do not explicitly mention a religious vocation are necessarily assumed in this tally to be laymen, but in some cases this may not be correct.

29 *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 5, pp. 286–7; Björn Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009): p. 263. It is impossible that Matthew could have met a daughter of the archbishop of Athens in person, since his only travels abroad were to Norway. According to him, his information was derived from John of Basingstoke, the archdeacon of Leicester, who spent a period of time in the eastern Mediterranean – perhaps visiting Athens – after the Fourth Crusade, and became proficient in Greek. This, on the face of it, would suggest the existence of a good source. Yet a number of elements in the description of Constantina seem implausible, and the attributes with which she is credited may well owe more to vague recollections of the intellect and learning for which Aspasia, the mistress or wife of Pericles, had been renowned in antiquity, than to contemporary thirteenth-century realities.

and the Peloponnese, an additional explanation could well lie behind the paucity of references specifically to individuals who either declared their acceptance of the conquering regime and alliance with it, or alternatively performed acts of collaboration, for it may be that a policy of deliberate silence was adopted regarding such cases. Significantly, a perusal of the version in Greek of the *Chronicle of Morea*, the only history to deal extensively with developments in the region in the thirteenth century, reveals that it is possible to count on the fingers of one hand the individuals who, being referred to by name in that work, are said to have cooperated with the crusaders during the first 50 years of the occupation; they are the three *archontes* Mamonas, Daimonogiannes and Sophianos portrayed surrendering 'the keys of the fortress of Monemvasia' to the then prince of Morea, William of Villehardouin, in 1248.[30] Devoted to representing deeds in a suitable narrative style and language derived from the epic tradition, the *Chronicle* appears to have considered heroic stature the preserve of the crusaders, forever barring their subjects from attaining the ranks of the truly elect. The manner in which the text refers to the Monemvasiot nobles is indicative, for in stark contrast to the naming practice adopted for individuals of western origin, where detailed precisions are always included as a matter of course (e.g. 'Boniface / Marquis of Montferrat, who was a great lord / a renowned knight and the foremost man in all Italy. / Great was his might and his armies large / and his sister was queen of France'; 'Sir Gautier / whose patronymic was de Rosières, that was his name'), these three men are not permitted their full forename and patronymic, or their titulature.[31]

The exact mechanisms at work come into sharper focus if one turns to other texts that, although composed elsewhere within the crusader lands, resemble the *Chronicle* because they too belong to the official narratives constructed by the new regime. Thus, in the *Conquête de Constantinople* by Geoffrey of Villehardouin, there is a disparity between the strong textual presence of the crusader leaders, who form the subject of a lengthy list at the beginning of the narrative,[32] and the almost complete textual absence of any easily identifiable native allies. We are told by Villehardouin that Didymoteichon fell because of the conduct of 'a Greek of the city' and that the Peloponnese was subjugated because of the aid given by 'a Greek who was lord of the land', but actual names are omitted in both these instances; indeed, this maintenance of anonymity is broken only on a single occasion.[33] The individual for whom Villehardouin makes an exception was someone who married a Capetian princess, and it would seem that this marriage, alluded to whenever the man himself is mentioned, was considered to have set the person in question apart and placed him in a category distinct from that of other members of the indigenous population. Even so, despite having married into the

30 *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, vv.2944–7.

31 Ibid., vv.208–12, 1912–13.

32 Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet, §§4–10.

33 Ibid., §§279, 325.

right blood, the man's forename and patronymic are never both given, so that references are not to Theodore Branas, but rather only to *le Vernas* (e.g. 'Branas, who had taken the sister of the king of France to wife'; 'Branas and the empress his wife, who was the sister of King Philip of France').[34] The author who continued the story of the *Conquête de Constantinople*, Henry of Valenciennes, went to even greater extremes than this, for, while duly noting the appellations of three of the *destriers* or war-horses – Moriaus, Bayart, Ferrant – of Henry of Hainault, the successor of Baldwin I of Flanders, his narrative does not preserve those of any of the Greeks one might have expected to find in the entourage of an emperor supposedly renowned for his philhellenic sentiment.[35] We appear to be dealing with the results of a decision to exclude certain people from the historical record. Moreover, if this was true of the narratives produced for the regime, it should equally be noted that the likes of Mamonas, Daimonogiannes and Sophianos were also themselves reluctant to leave to posterity autobiographical accounts admitting their transactions with the conquerors. It is not that such persons were without a voice of their own, for while we know of no memoirs giving their personal 'take' on the political events of their lifetime, other sorts of texts attributable to them do survive. The point, rather, seems to be that, in the relevant circles, there were things felt by all concerned to be best left unsaid.

Allegiances

Our most important evidence for central and southern Greece lies in a collection of 181 letters that were written in the years between 1179 and 1222, and cover the invasion and its aftermath. The author, Michael Choniates, was, like his more famous brother Niketas, a native of Chonai in Asia Minor. However, in contrast to his sibling, who made a civilian career for himself in Constantinople, he spent much of his life in the provinces of the Byzantine Empire. After being appointed in 1182 to the ecclesiastical see of Athens, Michael took up residence in the archbishop's palace in the Propylaia of the Parthenon, and subsequently never remained in the imperial capital for any length of time, although he did make a short trip there.[36]

34 Ibid., §§403, 423.

35 For the horses, see Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1948), §§509, 533, 541, 659, and, for the issue of philhellenism, ibid., §§566–7; also George Akropolites, *Χρονικὴ συγγραφή*, ed. Sp. Spyropoulos (Thessalonike, 2004), §§16–17.

36 For the life of Michael Choniates, see Georg Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen (ca. 1138–ca. 1222)* (Rome, 1934); Kenneth M. Setton, 'A Note on Michael Choniates, Archbishop of Athens (1182–1204)', *Speculum* 21 (1946): pp. 234–6; Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 197–262; Photeine Kolobou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης (Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου του: τὸ Corpus τῶν ἐπιστολῶν)* (Athens, 1999).

Initially an outsider who claimed to be horrified by the boorishness of his Athenian flock, Michael treated his duties as metropolitan bishop with extreme seriousness, already during the rule of the Angeloi interceding with imperial governors on behalf of his diocese. As a result, this particular prelate gradually became a part of his new environment in a way few others of his ilk had succeeded in doing.[37] Sending for his kin to join him, he contracted marriage alliances within the locality, instigating, for instance, the match between one of his nephews and a daughter of an eminent family from Euboia, that of Nikephoros and Catherine Beriboes.[38] Indeed, such was the extent of Michael's integration that, within five years of his appointment, he had started referring to 'my Athens' and 'my Marathon-fighters' with obvious pride.[39] The epistolographical collection itself appears to have received at least one edition at the hands of the archbishop; to this, a supplement was then added, possibly by a pupil or kinsman, of letters that were either of a late date or for some other reason had not yet been incorporated into the volume.[40]

A significant proportion of those individuals with whom Choniates corresponded after the fall of Constantinople and during the period when the crusaders were establishing themselves in Greece, particularly in the first decade or so, were resident locally in Attica, Boiotia and Euboia. Many addressees were either former members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the diocese of Athens and its suffragan sees, or laymen resident in areas where that hierarchy had controlled substantial landed estates or rights of trade.[41] Yet the correspondence also attests to the archbishop's membership of a network of contacts that stretched considerably further afield, well into those parts of the former Byzantine Empire that were not under the crusader yoke. Of the 19 surviving letters written in the last five years

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37 See Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 179–262 for a comparison of Michael Choniates with his teacher and mentor Eustathios of Thessalonike. Also, on the subject of Choniates in Athens: Christopher Livanos, 'Michael Choniates, Poet of Love and Knowledge', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 30 (2006): pp. 103–14; Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 318–34.

38 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 162 and 163.

39 *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Lampros, vol. 1, pp. 234 and 256, and, for comments, Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, p. 322.

40 Kolobou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης*, p. 69.

41 Of those addressees with whom Michael corresponded in the years between 1204 and 1216, eight of a total of 29 were in Attica, eight in Euboia, three in Boiotia, three in Nicaea, two in Constantinople, and one in each of Naupaktos, Messolongi, Thermopylai, Andros and Monemvasia. Many resided in areas with which Choniates would have acquired familiarity prior to the conquest due to the administration by him, in his capacity as archbishop, of the sizeable possessions belonging to the See of Athens. The extent of these possessions is apparent from the list of monasteries, *paroikoi*, mills, gardens, *casalia*, baths, irrigation and market rights of the archdiocese drawn up for their confirmation by Innocent III in 1209: *Innocentii III Pontificis Romani Opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 2, Patrologia Latina, 215 (Paris, 1855), col. 1559–62.

of Choniates' life, no fewer than 11 were dispatched to Nicaea, Raidestos, Arta, Neapatras and Naupaktos.[42] More generally, the archbishop appears to have been astonishingly knowledgeable about developments outside the occupied lands, a circumstance that can be explained by the high level of activity by messengers of various types who undertook to smuggle information across political frontiers. It should be noted in this regard that the existence is beyond dispute of numerous go-betweens who included not only household staff and merchants but also, on occasion, persons such as the captain of a privateer.[43]

Given the composition of the audience for which he was writing, it can come as no surprise that in a number of his letters Choniates took considerable care to present himself as an inveterate opponent of the conquest undertaken by the crusaders. Again and again, often in the very opening lines of each missive, the author rails against what he terms the 'Italian tyranny',[44] and hurls abuse at the new regime, insisting upon its illegitimacy and describing it, among other things, as 'arrogant', 'rapacious', 'ruinous', 'most bitter' and 'hateful'.[45] As for the conquerors themselves, they are said by him to have all the animalistic instincts of ferocious wild beasts such as lions, leopards and wolves, and to be far worse than centaurs, for those half-human creatures of antiquity, despite their reputation for brutality, at least admired the Hellenic tongue and adopted it for their own, whereas their latter-day counterparts utter only barbarous syllables.[46] Such was the depravity of these conquerors, Choniates alleges, that they were in the habit of putting defenceless people to death by impaling them, of raping virgins, and of committing many other atrocities too horrible to recount.[47] 'Alas, we are excessively supplied with misfortune', he laments in one of his letters, '[...] tyrannised over by those of another race and subjected, as it were, to the fate of slaves'.[48] In an extended simile, the current situation is compared by him to a raging storm in which a ship is buffeted this way and that and runs the risk of being completely overwhelmed by the high seas.[49] At such a dark hour, Orthodoxy represents, he argues, a light or flame that, as the waves crash on board and the constant threat of extinction presents itself, one must do one's utmost to protect and hold aloft.[50] He urged believers to be ennobled by attempts of the enemy to oppress them, declaring that the Latins would not succeed even if they stripped

42 See Kolobou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης*, p. 184.

43 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 84, 94, 98, 155, 167 and 179.

44 Ibid., Letter 159.

45 Ibid., Letters 93, 104, 132, 134, 139, 165 and 171.

46 Ibid., Letters 100, 110, 124, 134, 154, 165 and, for comments, Kolobou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης*, pp. 219–21.

47 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 145 and 165.

48 Ibid., Letter 100.

49 Ibid., Letter 171.

50 Ibid., Letter 171.

people 'down to the very bone'.[51] This role of defender of the faith, advocated for others, was one that Choniates proudly claimed for himself, with his self-portrait, which unfolds from letter to letter, amounting to that of a person willing, though all too painfully aware of the cost, to make the sacrifice required and endure whatever hardships and persecutions follow with appropriate stoicism and even, at times, a sense of humour. We see him being driven from Athens by the invaders, then from Euripos, Aulis and, finally, Karystos, before ending up on the windswept and desolate island of Kea.[52] This experience, he is at pains to emphasize, did not destroy his spirit, and he describes his inadequate living quarters, draughty and smoky washing facilities, and poor level of nourishment in a manner that leaves us not only with a vivid picture of the deprivations suffered, but also with an overriding impression of the author's likeability.[53]

Such an uncompromising declaration of Choniates' ideological position, penned as it was in a tone whose wit and charm would have been hard to match, could doubtless have been counted upon to go down well with the intended audience, which included not only the addressees of specific letters but a much wider circle, made up of other individuals who would also have had access to the contents.[54] Yet the ringing public assertions made regarding the cause espoused are to an extent undermined by certain casual observations contained within the correspondence itself, for these suggest the outlines of a rather different image of the epistolographer to the one he himself generally chose to cultivate. We learn, for example, from a phrase in one letter that, in 1205, the archbishop made overtures to Cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna, a papal legate, and indeed went so far as to travel to Thessalonike in order to meet in person with him and other representatives of the papacy.[55] The trip appears to have aroused the suspicions of members of Choniates' flock, who accused him of embezzling church funds for the purpose of carrying out this politicking.[56] Later, in 1214, we find the archbishop involved in further discussions with papal

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51 Ibid., Letter 110.

52 Ibid., Letters 103, 115 and 156.

53 See, for instance, ibid., Letter 103, where Choniates complains in a humorous fashion about the food he is being served, noting that, though Kea is an island, no one seems to fish there, and that the local diet consists mainly of eggs, cheese, meat and a very rough *retsina*, while he himself has been forced to subsist solely on cabbage, an alimentary regime stricter than one imposed for health reasons 'by Hippocrates or Galen'.

54 Some items in the archbishop's correspondence, indeed, seem to have acquired the status almost of open letters. Thus, on one occasion, Choniates writes to his pupil George Bardanes instructing him to read another letter of his, that addressed to the doctor Nicholas Kalodoukes, of which either the original or a copy is enclosed. See *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 158, for the missive to Bardanes, and Letter 135 for the possible text of that to Kalodoukes.

55 Ibid., Letter 156.

56 See ibid., Letter 156, in which the archbishop acknowledges the existence of complaints against his conduct and defends himself against specific charges.

authorities, this time in Constantinople; although he appears to have considered it injudicious to attend meetings himself, he did send his private secretary.[57] It is worth noting that, when he is engaged in correspondence with people who possess an insider's knowledge of the state of affairs in Attica, Choniates now and then lets down his guard, and even goes so far as to offer counsel conspicuously out of place on the lips of a self-declared adversary of the new regime. On one occasion, writing to the abbot of the Monastery of Kaisariane near Athens, the archbishop conceded that the monk did well 'to serve fully your present lords and carry out that which they deem agreeable'.[58] In another letter, addressed to Theodore, the bishop of Euripos in Euboia, he acknowledged the material necessity of cooperation with the enemy,[59] while, writing to the physician Nicholas Kalodoukes, he commented upon the spiritual rewards offered by such an arrangement.[60] Further investigation suggests that, after the fall of Constantinople, Michael Choniates was in fact willing to treat with pretty much everyone and anyone. He himself would admit shortly before his death that his comportment during all his years as a clergyman had in no way corresponded to that of an innocent idealist, remarking that, rather than submit to the principles of monastic rule and lead the life of a contemplative, he had in fact been completely devoted to the hurly-burly of worldly politics.[61] Although this comment was surely meant as modest self-deprecation addressed to a monastic (he was writing to an abbot at the time), it can be argued to contain more than a grain of truth.

On the eve of the arrival of the crusaders in Attica, the archbishop had been consorting with a local magnate, Leo Sgouros, who had rebelled against the central authority of the Byzantine state and was attempting to carve out an independent territory of his own. As the archbishop's brother, Niketas Choniates, notes, Michael tried to get on good terms with Sgouros, meeting with him often 'to chat with him', treating him with 'honour', and enrolling him 'in his beloved flock' and 'under his protection'.[62] Although the Choniates family would ultimately go on to maintain, when writing up its version of events, that the prelate, by his actions towards Sgouros, merely showed remarkable magnanimity and Christian charity, in effect turning the other cheek to one he foresaw would be his enemy,[63] it would not be hard to put a rather different interpretation on the whole episode, one suggesting that, for a while, at least, some sort of deal in order to serve mutual interests was being discussed. Similarly, in the decades after the crusader conquest, we find Michael in contact not only with the occupying regime, but also with both of the two main

57 Ibid., Letters 160 and 171.

58 Ibid., Letter 156.

59 Ibid., Letter 154, and, for comments, Kolobou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης*, pp. 19, 98–9, and Angold, *Church and Society*, p. 208.

60 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 92.

61 Ibid., Letter 161.

62 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, pp. 605–7.

63 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 607.

governments in exile. He appears to have toyed with Epiros and Nicaea, writing in turn to the rulers Theodore Doukas and Theodore Laskaris,[64] recommending individuals from among his friends to them,[65] and himself receiving offers of posts from them.[66]

Not all of these schemes could be counted upon to bear fruit, of course. Sgouros proved to be an unruly character and rather more trouble than expected, for he soon sent in his troops to sack and loot the lower town of Athens, and besieged the Acropolis itself;[67] worse still, he took the archbishop's own great-nephew captive and then murdered him.[68] As for the dealings of Michael Choniates with western authorities, these would also have undesirable outcomes, concluding with the archbishop more or less under house arrest in the Monastery of Prodromos at Thermopylai, his retirement from public life and the arena of international politics guaranteed by threats of retribution by the regime against his kinsmen and his fellow monks.[69] Yet these failures do not alter the fact that the life of the archbishop of Athens, when subjected to sufficient scrutiny, comes across as that of a person who may very well not have had an unimpeachable record as regards integrity. Indeed, a certain amount of ambivalence continued to characterize even the circumstances of the posthumous 'canonization' of the man and propagation of his cult. At Kalyvia Kouvara, a representation of Michael Choniates with a nimbus can still be viewed on the north wall of the sanctuary, where it presides over the divine liturgy.[70] Although Choniates is to be found there in the company of St Athanasius, St Blasius, and other illustrious prelates of the Orthodox rite, and the implicit message of the iconography is that this latter-day archbishop belonged to the same group of guardians of Orthodoxy, the establishment in which the depiction is found was not only erected or restored in *c.*1231, during the period of occupation, but also received a dual dedication to Peter and Paul, the Princes of the Apostles and the respective founders of the Greek and Latin churches. Furthermore, the actual patron responsible for commissioning the fresco, Ignatios,

64 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 165 (for correspondence addressed to Theodore Doukas) and Letters 94, 136 and 179 (for correspondence addressed to Theodore Laskaris).

65 Ibid., Letters 136, 137, 138, 171,175.

66 Ibid., Letters 94, 95, 129, 165.

67 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. 608.

68 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 88, 89, 100, 101.

69 Ibid., Letter 165.

70 For a discussion of this material, see Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, p. 61; Nausika Panselenou, 'Άγιος Πέτρος Καλυβίων Κουβαρά Αττικής', *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 14 (1987–88): pp. 173–88, and Nafsika Coumbaraki-Panselinou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge de Mérenta: deux monuments du XIIIe siècle en Attique* (Thessalonike, 1976); Monika Hirschbichler, *Monuments of a Syncretic Society: Wall Painting in the Latin Lordship of Athens, Greece (1204–1311)*, PhD thesis (University of Maryland, 2005), pp. 62–3, 70–76.

bishop of Kythnos and Kea, must, given the exalted position he enjoyed under the new regime, have been one of those 'devoted and loyal' Greek bishops who were 'willing to receive humbly and devoutly consecration' from the Latin patriarch of Constantinople and consequently embraced subjugation to Rome.[71]

If a local 'saint' can be shown to have been characterized by a shifting of the political ground claimed by him, there was no hope for those of the inhabitants of Greece who were mere mortals. Among the elite of Attica, Boiotia and Euboia, a certain haziness regarding allegiance appears to have been the rule rather than the exception in the years from *c.*1208 to *c.*1217. In the course of their careers, some members of the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy of the diocese of Athens, certainly, would be associated equally with resistance and collaboration. On the one hand, they opposed the new regime, and in particular its religious arm – often through the form of sermons and other similar activities –, and on the other hand, they attempted to cultivate the regard and trust of the regime, undertaking negotiations intended to secure concessions with respect to church property and revenues.[72] Here, one of the most striking examples is that of Michael Choniates' nephew and namesake, who not only read private material that was rabidly anti-Latin but also possibly engaged in its dissemination only a short while before he himself took up service under the crusader family of the La Roche.[73]

Laymen, too, comported themselves in much the same manner, as is apparent from the case of the landowner Demetrios Makrembolites. To begin with, Makrembolites fell foul of the Latins, and was forced to flee from Athens, but he later seems to have managed to come to an arrangement with the regime and, as a result, recovered his estates and was reinstated in his former elevated position.[74] Furthermore, although individuals such as these, when reacting to the conquest, seem in many instances to have switched from one side to another, examples can also be given of persons, such as the cleric Euthymios Tornikes, who courted several camps simultaneously. Tornikes, who was based in Chalkis, maintained,

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71 See August Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1874–75), vol. 1, col. 2867, and *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author*, transl. James Powell (Washington, DC, 2004) p. 190, with comments in Hirschbichler, *Monuments of a Syncretic Society*, p. 62; Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1979), pp. 36, 37; Robert L. Wolff, 'The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople: Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest', *Traditio*, 6 (1948): pp. 34–6.

72 A group of clerics and monks – the *chartophylax* George Bardanes, the abbot of Kaisariane, and the bishops Theodore of Euripos and Ignatios of Kythnos and Kea – have already been mentioned above in passing. Although all four people, as has been demonstrated, negotiated with the new regime, and in particular with its religious arm, at least two of them (see *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 140 and 154) seem equally to have been associated at one point or other in their career with opposition to the occupation.

73 See ibid., Letters 116, 121, 164.

74 See ibid., Letters 145 and 150.

it would seem, a façade of quiescence regarding the occupation while at the same time corresponding in secret with fellow ecclesiastics of the Orthodox persuasion in order to lend his support to plans for organized resistance of some sort; the interception of his messages by the conquerors was clearly greatly feared by him – presumably because both he himself and his addressees had rather a lot to hide – and he consequently adopted the practice of sending them without a signature or seal and of excluding all personal details from their content, so as to preserve anonymity.[75]

The situation in the mainland can be shown to have been paralleled by that in the Peloponnese. An essay by the prelate and legal expert Demetrios Chomatenos provides us with an invaluable insight into the state of affairs in the peninsula in *c.*1222 because it contains extensive comments not only on the allegiances of a group of Peloponnesians, but also on the precise nature of relations between these persons and others outside the crusader lands. Out of the three local magnates who feature in this text, the *archon* Gabriel Larynx is perhaps the most intriguing, for, while being described as a well-known supporter of the occupying forces, Larynx is also presented as banking upon that reputation in order to receive envoys and dispatches from free Epiros.[76] Indeed, he appears to have employed a group of undercover agents and couriers, and overseen the safe execution of a covert operation within the occupied lands.[77] Of the remaining two magnates, the *paneutychestatos despotes* John Chamaretos is said to have refused to bow to the crusaders when they invaded the Peloponnese, resisting them as best he could and remaining constant in his sympathies towards the 'Empire of the Romans', while the *protopansebastohypertatos* George Daimonogiannes is said conversely to have inclined towards the Latins and to have remained unshakeable in his loyalty towards them.[78] Yet although these descriptions initially seem to delineate the respective loyalties of Chamaretos and Daimonogiannes in a precise manner, placing them in opposite camps, a closer reading reveals that these same individuals in fact transacted extensive business with each other. At one point, a pact between them was agreed upon and an attempt was made to cement cordial relations through a marriage alliance.[79] We must conclude that cautiousness and subterfuge were very

75 Ibid., Letter 102, and, for comments, Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, p. 27.

76 *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, p. 89.

77 Ibid., pp. 89–90.

78 Ibid., pp. 86, 89; comments in Paul Magdalino, 'A Neglected Authority for the History of the Peloponnese in the Early 13th Century: Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of Bulgaria', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 70 (1977): pp. 316–23, and Donald Nicol, 'Refugees, Mixed Population and Local Patriotism in Epiros and Macedonia after the Fourth Crusade', *Actes du XV^e^ Congrès international d'études byzantines*, 4 vols (Athens, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 17–18.

79 *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, pp. 86, 96.

much the order of the day among those members of the indigenous population who had had some status and authority prior to the conquest.

These patterns of behaviour, which appear to have been characteristic of individuals, can be shown to be replicated also by larger units, such as that of the family. In all the sources dealing with the period, there is only one individual who is explicitly recorded as having allied himself with the conquerors and then remained steadfast to the new cause he had embraced. This is the anonymous Greek *archon* who received Geoffrey of Villehardouin, nephew of the chronicler of the same name, when the young man was shipwrecked at Modon in 1204 or 1205, and treated him with great honour, proposing that the subjugation of the area near that city be undertaken as a joint venture. According to a contemporary account, the partnership was blessed with 'good faith'.[80] After the Greek fell ill and died, however, we are told, his son and heir was revealed to be less trustworthy, and gradually distanced himself from the crusader, until he openly rebelled against him. As a result, all those castles that had previously surrendered underwent a transformation into centres of insurrection and were lost to the Franks, necessitating the arrival of reinforcements in order to regain control of the situation.[81] This episode suggests that a variety of positions *vis-à-vis* the occupying regime could characterize any group of kinsmen, with individuals shifting through the spectrum of allegiances as the structures of power and influence within the family itself changed.

Political Instability

Such conduct represented a response to the political instability that had in any case been a feature of the region, but that increased dramatically with the arrival of the crusaders. The crux of the matter was that, although opportunities unimaginable while the imperial province of Hellas and the Peloponnese had existed did suddenly come to light under the new regime and presented themselves for exploitation, these opportunities inevitably proved to be anything but limitless. On the eve of the Fourth Crusade, the Byzantine Empire had already been plagued with discontent and riven by internal rivalries; indeed, the very speed with which the western provinces capitulated during the initial invasion was attributed by contemporary observers to disillusionment with the old order of things. Under the Angeloi, growing tensions between central and regional authority had resulted in local attempts, such as that by Theodore Mankaphas in Asia Minor, to shake off rule by that dynasty.[82] Crusader presence thus facilitated a trend whose emergence in the provinces of Byzantine Empire should be traced back to the twelfth century.

80 Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet, §325.

81 Ibid., §§326–7.

82 Jürgen Hoffman, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210)* (Munich, 1974); Jean-Claude Cheynet, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de

In describing his experience of the exodus under the leadership of the patriarch of a group of imperial aristocrats shortly after the fall of Constantinople and the long trudge through the hinterland to what was to prove to be only temporary safety, the historian Niketas Choniates dwelt with some bitterness upon the taunts and cat-calls that were directed at himself and his companions.[83] Age-old resentments and angers apparently boiled over in Thrace, where local people openly revelled in the sudden 'poverty and nakedness' suffered by 'the Constantinopolitans'.[84] Thus, the provincials, after making barbed comments regarding the privileged position that had previously been enjoyed by those who had lived within the walls of the Queen of Cities, proceeded to buy the possessions of the hapless refugees at rock-bottom prices, all the while pointedly drawing attention to the 'equality and fellow-citizenship' that this redistribution of wealth would achieve.[85] Similar disenchanted reactions were observed by Niketas' brother, Michael, further to the south, who remarked that, to the inhabitants of Thebes, Chalkis, Athens, Argos and Corinth 'men of an alien race seem more civilised than those of their own race'.[86] The recent arrivals from the West were, he noted, deemed 'to be just', and people, at the first opportunity they were given, deserted to them 'with a glad heart as though they were returning from the depths of Hades itself'.[87] As they embarked upon the subjugation of the provinces of the Byzantine Empire, the invaders could not possibly hope to satisfy the interests of every single one of the different factions that existed in indigenous society. On the contrary, they had no option, if they were to turn to their advantage the discontent that was so evident in certain quarters, other than to gratify the appetite for change by accepting the aid of particular groups while making a point of refusing that of others.

This tactic – of judicious preferential treatment – was in evidence during the military campaign undertaken in Boiotia and Attica by Boniface of Montferrat, the head of the Fourth Crusade, and the lord to whom the conquest of much of Greece had been assigned. It would appear that the crusader was aided in his enterprise by 'certain Romans [...] especially men of noble birth', who were accepted as associates because of their local influence and put to work 'decoying the provinces and smoothing away difficulties'.[88] By contrast, when the entourage or body-guard of the deposed Byzantine emperor Alexios III turned up and declared a desire to transfer itself to Boniface, its members were apparently given short shrift and dismissed with the comment that it was not felt to be necessary to employ officers or soldiers from the old imperial army.[89] Indeed, this tendency to cold-shoulder

dissidence, 1181–1206', in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris, 1984), pp. 39–54.

83 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, pp. 593–4.

84 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 593.

85 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 593–4.

86 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 100.

87 Ibid.

88 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. 601.

89 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 612.

members of the previous imperial 'civil and military administration' is recorded on the part of a number of crusader leaders, including, among others, Baldwin of Flanders,[90] and can be attributed to a desire to exploit the competition that had developed in Greece during the final years of Byzantine rule between the centralized aristocracy from Constantinople, sent as governors and tax-collectors, and the *archontes* with their regional power bases.[91] The episodes in Boiotia and Attica suggest that, of the two groups, it was the latter that stood more of a chance of ingratiating itself with the invaders than the former. Of course, the lines between a potential ally and an almost certain enemy were not in all instances clearly drawn, for an element of overlap is recorded prior to the establishment of crusader control, with local lords acquiring imperial court titles and, conversely, imperial officials seeking to become dynasts of particular localities.[92] Moreover, some individuals – such as the three young clergymen belonging to the staff of the Patriarchate, who, after 1204, reached Euboia, where they had family, and made a new life for themselves there – succeeded in overcoming what were seen as the deficiencies of their background and in making themselves indispensable regardless.[93] Generally speaking, however, those whose past history was deemed to connect them too visibly to the old regime tended not to be received into the circles of the new crusader government. Instead they became casualties of the initial phase in the redistribution of power and participated in the earliest exodus from the conquered territories.[94]

If such was the immediate outcome of the fall of Constantinople and of the crusader campaigns in the imperial provinces, the numbers of those who were forced into exile continued to grow in subsequent years, with the existence of very recent refugees, who originated specifically in mainland Greece and the Peloponnese, still attested as late as the third decade of the thirteenth century.[95] Some of these exiles were simply created by the further extension of the territories subjugated by the crusaders. Thus, the wife of the despot Leo Sgouros, following her husband's death and the surrender in 1212 of Nauplion, the family stronghold, by her brother-in-law, Gabriel Sgouros, sought refuge in 'the East', presumably at Nicaea, whose ruler was reputed for providing 'a safe haven after the storm'.[96] Other departures, however, can be attributed to the fact that survivors of the first

[90] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 597–8.

[91] Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Lascarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261* (Oxford, 1975), p. 9.

[92] Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History* (London–New York, 1997), p. 309.

[93] Angold, *Church and Society*, p. 210.

[94] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. 588.

[95] *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, p. 87.

[96] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. 611, with comments in Magdalino, 'A Neglected Authority', p. 323; *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 136.

round of purges, whether they had curried the favour or merely obtained the tolerance of the conquerors, could not count upon their position to remain secure. It is notable that, as time passed, more members of local *archontic* families seem to have joined the ranks of those leaving. While some individuals were already well known outside their own immediate circle prior to their decision to go into exile, this was not true of others, since they had to take written introductions with them that explained who they were and indicated their status and influence in the locality from which they hailed.

Of relevance here is a group of three letters, composed by Michael Choniates at some point before 1214, in which details are given regarding the *pansebastos* Chalkoutses, a *ktematikos archon* or landowner from the town of Chalkis in Euboia and an important magnate of the theme of Hellas.[97] We are told that this magnate survived under crusader rule for a period of time, but then, after a number of years had passed, abandoned 'his homeland, his estates, his children, his entire wealth and fortune' and made a break for it, eventually reaching Anatolia, where he presented himself at the court of Theodore Laskaris.[98] Further cases included George Bardanes, a highly placed church official who seems to have been of Athenian extraction on this mother's side,[99] and who fled twice, first to Anatolia in *c.*1214, and then, for good, to Epiros, in *c.*1217.[100] It was in Epiros, too, that John Chamaretos, whose family resided in Lakedaimonia and controlled the Laconian plain, was able to take sanctuary in *c.*1222.[101] This list, as is revealed by a perusal of the writings of the metropolitan bishop of Naupaktos, John Apokaukos, can be extended still further, to include a number of additional individuals: Ioannikios, abbot of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas; Nicholas, bishop of Vonitsa; Leo Makros, the future bishop of Vellas; and Theodosios Spinges, a monk from the Monastery of Komnenos.[102] Finally, mention should be made of two anonymous individuals,

97 See ibid., Letters 136, 137, 138, and, for comments, Paris Gounarides, 'Οι πολιτικές προϋποθέσεις για την αντίσταση στους Λατίνους το 1204', *Σύμμεικτα*, 5 (1983): 143–60.

98 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 137.

99 See Kolobou, *Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτης*, p. 91.

100 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 171 and 175, which were written as recommendations for Bardanes addressed respectively to the patriarch at Nicaea, Manuel Sarantenos, and the metropolitan of Naupaktos, John Apokaukos.

101 *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, p. 87. It is unclear whether Chamaretos was by this time formally a subject of the crusaders or not, for we cannot tell what form his resistance against the regime took, nor do we know precisely where his own lands were. See Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, p. 42, for a discussion of this problem.

102 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Συνοδικὰ γράμματα', p. 10; Bees and Bees-Seferlis, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke', Letters 13, 78, 104 and 111; Pietro Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1888), no. 892. For comments, see Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, pp. 34, 35, 68, 90, and Nikos A. Bees, ''Η Μονὴ τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτου', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 11 (1934–35): pp. 188–90.

one a military man from Corinthia, the other a monk from Laconia, who petitioned and received grants from the ruler of Epiros – respectively of some olive groves to be held in *pronoia* and of a monastery and its lands.[103] Migration by the upper echelons of society to territories outside crusader control – although unlikely to have attained the proportions alleged in a letter attributable to Theodore Doukas, who claimed that his court swarmed with Peloponnesians and had been turned by this expatriate community into a replica of the lost homeland – appears to have been both prolonged in duration and sizeable in extent. If anything, displacements, which initially surged during the conquest, may well have reached another peak 10 years or more after the actual appearance of the crusaders on the scene.[104]

This second wave of migration can be argued to have been the result of a variety of factors. Some individuals may have decided to stay put in the beginning because they had believed that the occupation was an aberration that would not last, only to find themselves growing increasingly uneasy with the way matters were working out.[105] Other reasons for the resolve to migrate would appear, however, to have included the existence of continuing petty squabbles among the indigenous population,[106] as well as the development of infighting between the conquerors with its accompanying devastation of lands and the creation of further winners and losers. It is as well to remember that, if factionalism was a characteristic of the inhabitants of the former Byzantine Empire, the invaders themselves had never been a homogeneous entity, but should rather be understood as a series of loosely affiliated groups whose relations easily degenerated into outright rivalry. When two crusader lords clashed, then any local *archontes* who had thrown in their lot with these lords would have to follow the lead of those for whom they had declared, and suffer the consequences. This was what had happened when Baldwin of Flanders and Boniface of Montferrat competed with each other over control of Adrianople, both employing indigenous troops to further their ambitions.[107] It is likely that a similar effect was produced by the Lombard uprising that set the Latin emperor in Constantinople against the regent of the Montferrat Kingdom of Thessalonike,

[103] Bees and Bees-Seferlis, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke', Letters 34 and 71, and Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, pp. 34–5.

[104] *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, p. 88. This letter was, it should be noted, specifically aimed at encouraging further departures and may therefore contain considerable distortions.

[105] See the comments in *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 137, regarding the motivation of Chalkoutses.

[106] See *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, pp. 86–7 for an example of this.

[107] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet, §§271–3, 281.

plunging the crusader lands into a civil war that caused especially wide destruction in central Greece.[108]

Finally, the possibility cannot be dismissed of an upturn in the requisitioning of property carried out in order to cope both with the increasing ambitions of the crusaders themselves and with the arrival of additional influxes of settlers from the West. Many of the participants in the Fourth Crusade were determined to make as much profit they could out of the situation in which they found themselves. Although apparently willing to accord concessions in order to secure victory, the crusaders' desire for enrichment later seems to have got the better of them, as was recognized by one of their number, who stated that his companions, because of covetousness, committed deeds, some of which were more heinous than others, but none of a nature to be proud of.[109] What was more, as news of the conquest spread and was magnified in the process, the former Byzantine Empire became famed abroad as a destination where one could make a fortune quickly, and lord it over vast estates with many serfs. One nobleman resident in France noted in *c.* 1213 that he heard reports 'every day' about the opportunities for fabulous enrichment available in the Morea.[110] This reputation of Greece as a land of promise is likely to have attracted a number of adventurers, including some already holding the rank of baron, knight or sergeant, who would then have had to be accommodated at the expense of the indigenous elite.[111] All in all, for an inhabitant of the former Byzantine Empire, continued residence in an area under occupation constituted an inordinately perilous gamble since there were high chances of sooner or later losing everything one had staked, from one's immoveable or moveable property to one's very life.

For those who had not yet abandoned their homelands in occupied Greece, the climate of confusion and uncertainty, already considerable because of the changeableness of conditions under the crusader regime, can only have been heightened by the development of centres of resistance wherever political refugees congregated.[112] The establishment in Anatolia and Epiros of leaders determined to head opposition to the crusaders led to the creation both of substantial unoccupied zones known to contemporaries as 'the Eastern Lands of the Romans' and 'the

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108 Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri*, ed. Longnon, §§560–686, with comments in Jean Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949) pp. 106–11.

109 Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet, §303.

110 *Jehan et Blonde de Philippe de Rémi, roman du XIII^e siècle*, ed. S. Lécuyer (Paris, 1984), vv.8–42.

111 See Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 70–71, 114–15, for a discussion of some of the evidence regarding the names of individual settlers.

112 See Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*; Alice Gardner, *The Laskarids of Nicaea: The Story of an Empire in Exile* (London, 1912); Donald Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957).

Western Lands of the Romans', and of powerful machines of propaganda.[113] For those who had suffered losses because of the conquest, the task became to convince everyone else not only that the predicament in which they found themselves was a conscious decision rather than a situation forced upon them from the outside, but that – as a choice – it was unquestionably the right one, and indeed the sole one open to an upstanding individual of sound moral principle. Apart from needing to save face, this was the main way such people could aspire to regain what they had lost. Exiles therefore poured their energy into devising plans for what they referred to as the occupied zone's liberation or *apolytroses*,[114] and, waxing lyrical about the freedoms or *eleuthera ethe* enjoyed away from the foreign yoke,[115] lobbied hard to win over the hearts and minds of those who remained within western jurisdiction. Above all, as is apparent from the writings of the period, they sought to promote not only belief in the unbreakable nature of the bonds that bound them to those they had left behind, but also loyalty to a concept of 'race' that was argued to be wholly incompatible with continued service under foreign masters.[116] A group of texts from the first half of the thirteenth century that were largely written outside the crusader lands, and for that very reason provide us with insight into the quandary faced by those under occupation, displays a fascination with the words *homoethnes* and *homogenes*, together with their cognates.[117] As *ad hoc* groups of refugees began to assume the status of fully fledged governments in exile, the imperial past was inevitably resurrected, and claims advanced that the supplanted regime had been redeemed and was ready to return.[118] Oracles to that effect were

113 *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et epistulae*, ed. J. van Dieten (Berlin, 1972), p. 120.

114 *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, p. 88.

115 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 137.

116 See Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, pp. 317–88; Michael Angold, 'Byzantine "Nationalism" in the Nicaean Empire', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 1 (1975): pp. 49–70; Paul Magdalino, 'Hellenism and Nationalism in Byzantium', in John Burke and Stathis Gauntlett (eds), *Neohellenism* (Canberra, 1992), pp. 1–29.

117 See, for instance, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. 594: 'τῶν συμφυλετῶν'; *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 100: 'ὁ [...] ὁμοεθνής'; *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, p. 94: 'τῶν ὁμογενῶν'; George Akropolites, *Χρονική συγγραφή*, ed. Spyropoulos, §17: 'τοῖς ἰθαγενέσιν'.

118 See Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, pp. 42–4; Apostolos Karpozelos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epirus, 1217–1233* (Thessalonike, 1973); Hélène Ahrweiler, 'L'an prochain à Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 29 (1975): pp. 23–40; Ruth Macrides, 'From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: Imperial Models in Decline and Exile', in Paul Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 269–82; Dimiter Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007).

put into circulation.[119] Moreover, an official act, written in simple Greek so that it could be disseminated widely, was addressed to 'the high-ranking army officers, and kinsmen and *familiares* of the emperor, as well as to all the subjects of the emperor and all the soldiers' by the patriarch Michael IV Autoreianos, who resided at the court of Nicaea. This act contained the following clarion call: 'Roman Men! (For this name by itself suffices to recall your ancient valour). You, who are born of a great stock and can take pride in your ancestors! It is now time for you to show us your virtue [...] on behalf of your faith [...] and the liberty of our *genos*!'[120] The patriarch exhorted his audience to take up arms, promising that all those who died 'fighting for God and country on behalf of the common salvation and liberation of the people' would receive the remission of their sins.[121] Persons who, according to the perspective advocated in the writings of Autoreianos, or indeed in the writings of his Epirot equivalent, the archbishop of Ohrid, could be described as conducting themselves in an appropriate fashion were said to be 'burning with zeal for and fidelity towards the Roman constitution' and were labelled adherents to the Roman cause and avoiders of treachery.[122] Others, conversely, were damned as 'pimps' or 'panderers' of their country, who had forfeited the right to membership of the group to which, it was claimed, they had traditionally belonged.[123] There was thus, in certain texts, not merely an insistence upon the former glorious tradition of 'Romanness', but also a proclamation of belief in the continuing political validity of a 'Roman' identity defined in terms of loyalty to imperial authority.[124]

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119 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 102.

120 Nicolas Oikonomidès, 'Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos', *Revue des études byzantines*, 25 (1967): p. 117, with comments in Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, p. 356.

121 Oikonomides, 'Cinq actes inédits', p. 119.

122 *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, p. 90; *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 137.

123 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. 601; *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 100.

124 For a discussion of the development of 'Roman' identity in the thirteenth century, see, apart from Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, pp. 318–88, also Gill Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 72–107; Magdalino, 'Hellenism and Nationalism in Byzantium'; Paul Magdalino and Ruth Macrides, 'The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism', in Paul Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-century Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 117–56; Robert Browning, 'The Continuity of Hellenism in the Byzantine World: Appearance or Reality?', in Tom Winnifrith and Penelope Murray (eds), *Greece Old and New* (London, 1983), pp. 111–28; Spyros Vryonis, 'Recent Scholarship in Continuity and Discontinuity of Culture: Classical Greeks, Byzantines, Modern Greeks', in Spyros Vryonis (ed.), *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture* (Malibu, 1978), pp. 237–56; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, p. 29; Angold, 'Byzantine "Nationalism"'; Cyril A. Mango, 'Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28 (196): pp. 29–43.

The problem here, of course, was that when people were offered the possibility of a return to the previous *status quo*, theirs was not a straightforward choice between two outright alternatives – Latin or Byzantine government – for increasingly certain Byzantines came to present themselves not only as opponents of the crusaders, but also as being in competition with each other, vying to become the first Byzantine to return in glory to the Queen of Cities. This was especially true of the rulers of the 'empires' of Nicaea and of Epiros. It should also be noted that some of the Latins took pains to represent their regime as a continuation and revitalization of the Byzantine Empire it had supplanted. Thus, the western rulers of Constantinople were crowned according to established ritual, wore the *loros* as part of their ceremonial dress, received imperial *proskynesis* and acclamations from their subjects, and – in the case of Baldwin II of Courtenay – entitled themselves *porphyrogenitus*, or 'born in the purple', a reference to the chamber of the Great Palace in which empresses traditionally gave birth.[125] The same language and ideological framework was appropriated even by lesser crusader lords, such as William of Champlitte, whose entourage announced to the people of the city of Andravida, in the north-west Peloponnese, that he had come to the peninsula to be their *basileus*.[126]

Conclusions

If the presence of the crusaders in the former Byzantine province of Hellas and the Peloponnese would eventually result in the formation of a large and fully viable polity, made up of the Principality of Morea and its dependencies, for the generation that experienced the turmoil of both the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath, these developments lay in the distant future. Without the benefit of hindsight, there was simply no way of divining whether the conquest and occupation of the region would turn out to be temporary or permanent. After all, armed bands of westerners had targeted the populations of Attica, Boiotia and Euboia on other occasions, most recently during raids of Normans from Italy that dated from scarcely half

125 Peter Lock, 'The Latin Emperors as Heirs to Byzantium', in Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines*, pp. 295–304; Teresa Shawcross, 'Conquest Legitimised: The Making of a Byzantine Emperor in Crusader Constantinople (1204–1261)', in Jonathan Harris and Catherine Holmes (eds), *The Late Medieval Eastern Mediterranean World: Between Byzantines and Turks* (Oxford, forthcoming).

126 *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, v.1620. Although inadequate information renders it impossible for us to tell precisely what the assumption by Champlitte of the imperial title was meant to convey, it may be noted that, by the date at which the episode at Andravida occurred, Champlitte had not only already participated in the conquest of Constantinople and its hinterland, but also campaigned in central and southern Greece, and would therefore have had ample opportunity to observe the advantages inherent in retaining traditional imperial terminology when negotiating with the indigenous population.

a century before and were thus still within living memory, but the invaders had always been repulsed. Over a decade after the initial conquest by Boniface of Montferrat, Othon de la Roche, Guy Palavicini, Thomas d'Autremencourt, William of Champlitte and Geoffrey of Villehardouin, the possibility of an end to Frankish dominion – perhaps even a quick end – could by no means have been excluded. Using the literary conceit of addressing an inanimate being, in this case the main river of the Peloponnese, which flows down from the mountains of Arcadia into the Ionian Sea towards Italy, one author commented upon the precarious and unstable predicament in which he and his contemporaries found themselves. 'O Alpheus, Hellenic river', he wrote, 'herald not the misfortunes of the Hellenes to the barbarians in Sicily [...] so that they may dance and sing paeans [...] Tarry a while – the battle is undecided [...] victory shifts from man to man'.[127] As things stood, there were just too many rulers, too many prospective authorities, all of which had not only experienced both triumphs and setbacks with regard to territorial control, but were competing for the loyalties of fundamentally the same provincial population. To that population, and especially to its elite, able, as is apparent from the letters they sent and received, to secure information from outside their immediate environment and therefore thoroughly aware of the complexity of the wider political situation, it must have been extremely unclear what the most appropriate option was.

In such a bewildering environment, filled with beguiling promises and dashed hopes, it was only to be expected that, in matters pertaining to allegiance, anyone with a modicum of desire for self-preservation would display a certain flexibility and lack of constancy. The apparent inconsistencies in the patterns of behaviour to be observed in individuals and families were thus the result of a concerted strategy of survival necessitated by external circumstances. People played to their strengths and coped under singularly difficult conditions, taking each day as it came. Above all, the overwhelming concern was to secure from all quarters guarantees regarding regional customs and privileges, and, more generally, to preserve as much of the local way of life as possible. One striking success story, albeit on a somewhat restricted scale, was that of the archontic family of the Daimonogiannides, who maintained an influential position in the south-east Peloponnese following the arrival of the crusaders and used that position as leverage in order to secure independence from external meddling for the wider community of their peers, dependents and compatriots. Not until almost 50 years after 1204 were the keys to the fortified town of Monemvasia finally given up by George Daimonogiannes or one of his progeny or kin to William II of Villehardouin, the third prince of Morea. The event itself, it should be noted, was marked by the signing of a treaty that was highly advantageous to the Monemvasiots, according to which the inhabitants would not become serfs, but rather remain free men in perpetuity; their persons and property were to be exempt from taxation; and they were not to perform compulsory military service, but rather, when going to war, take part

127 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. 611.

as well-rewarded mercenaries, receiving a salary (*roga*) and appropriate bonuses (*philotimia*) in return for hiring out their fleet.[128]

A rather greater achievement was that of Michael Choniates and the ecclesiastics subordinate to him – Theodore of Euripos, Euthymios Tornikes, Manuel Beriboes and Nicholas Pistophilos – all of whom doggedly persisted with the administration of the diocese of Athens and its suffragan sees.[129] Thus, after the occupation, the lower clergy continued to bring their grievances and queries regarding church matters to Choniates, and he appears to have expended considerable time and effort on ordaining new priests and distributing clerical offices and incomes.[130] Abbots were given instructions on the running of the monastic foundations under their control.[131] Laymen, too, continued to receive spiritual and material guidance from him, and contact was maintained with notable *archontes* such as the Makrembolitai, the Kalokairoi, the Doxapatrides and the Tychomyroi.[132] Most importantly, the archbishop invested in the education of the younger generation, seeking out texts that would be pedagogically useful and encouraging people to entrust him with their offspring by promising that he would provide his charges with teaching by 'the best tutor in Greece'.[133] These endeavours to provide continuity were in full force by 1218/22, when it was considered expedient by Pope Honorius III to reach a compromise. In a series of five documents issued by the pope, the monasteries near Athens of Hosios Meletios at Kithairon, of the Archangels at Kypolousto, of Saint Nikolaos on Mount Pentele, and of the Holy Saviour at Platania were granted specific privileges. These monasteries were not only to be left free to continue their way of life without being molested by the Latin clergy of the region, but also made exempt from any tithes payable to the Latin churches on lands cultivated by the monks' own hands.[134] Moreover, in a sixth document it was stated that, whereas Latin knights were to pay tithes in full,

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128 *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, vv.2936–40, and *Acta et diplomata monasteriorum et ecclesiarum orientis*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1888), pp. 154–5, 165–8, 171–4; for comments, see H. Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia: The Sources* (Monemvasia, 1990), 101–34, and *Monemvasia: A Byzantine City-State*, (Abingdon, 2010), 33–8.

129 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 105, 114, 146, 148, 151, 152, 154, 170, 176; and, for comments, Angold, *Church and Society*, p. 210.

130 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letter 116.

131 See, for example, ibid., Letters 120, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 156.

132 Ibid., Letters 113, 122, 123, 135, 145, 150.

133 Ibid., Letters 128 and 130; and, for comments, Angold, *Church and Society*, p. 209.

134 See Giorgio Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, vol. 1 (Verona, 1973), p. 160; Kordoses, *Southern Greece under the Franks*, pp. 80–82; Jean Richard, 'The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204–1227)', in Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (eds), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), p. 54.

non-Latin nobles resident west of the Maritsa or Evros river were to contribute, for at least ten years, and possibly considerably longer, a reduced rate of one-thirtieth.[135] That this renunciation of revenue by the Latin Church would have benefited the Greek Church cannot be excluded. While Michael Choniates, by then suffering from escalating poor health, may not himself have been directly responsible for brokering these agreements with the Latin regarding Greek monks and laymen, we should not underestimate the role played by him in the preliminaries. Tellingly, one of the main foundations in Attica to profit from papal privileges, the Monastery of Hosios Meletios, had as its abbot a certain Ioannikios, who was himself the addressee of extensive correspondence from Choniates on various administrative and financial matters.[136] In these letters, Choniates alludes to episcopal revenues which he himself had received or expected to receive from the monastery.[137] Furthermore, there is evidence that the possibility of retirement to Hosios Meletios was being considered by Choniates at around the same time he also dispatched his personal secretary to undertake unspecified negotiations with papal representatives.

The repercussions of the activities of Choniates and his circle were still being felt many decades after the conquest, with institutions and beliefs that are recognizably Orthodox subsisting, and, in some cases, even thriving a hundred years later. By the mid-thirteenth century, a number of crusader dynasties, including that of the Villehardouin themselves, were making substantial donations or leaving bequests to Greek churches and monasteries.[138] By the early fourteenth century, the descendants of western settlers in the Peloponnese and Attica were choosing to attend regularly services where communion was celebrated according to the Greek rite, as well as resolutely ignoring blustering threats from the papacy regarding the dispatch of an inquisition – probably under the auspices of the Dominican Order – to investigate their 'heresies'.[139] Certain crusader dynasties, including that of the

135 Robert L. Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261', pp. 271, 274 and 300. Although this agreement originally did not concern central and southern Greece or the Peloponnese, it was followed by attempts to extend its terms to that region. By 1223, however, these had come to nothing.

136 See *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, Letters 93, 96, 133, 157, 161, 178.

137 See ibid., Letters 93, 96.

138 *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, v.7798.

139 Karl Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1867), p. 406, and F. Ehrle, *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1886), pp. 335ff. Unfortunately, the details of the plans for an inquisition in Greece will never be known since we have to rely for our evidence upon the editorial work and analyses carried out by nineteenth-century scholars on documents that perished in the general destruction of the Angevin archives during the Second World War.

Villehardouin themselves, made substantial donations or left bequests to Greek churches and monasteries.[140]

It was because of the conduct of men such as Daimonogiannes and Choniates in the initial critical period following the arrival of the crusaders that the fabric of regional society ultimately was able to remain as remarkably intact as it did.

140 *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, v.7798.

Appendix
Individuals of Greek origin referred to in the sources as resident in areas of the former province of Hellas and the Peloponnese conquered by the crusaders (c.1204–c.1244)[141]

Athanasios, Abbot of the Monastery of St John Prodromos
Kosmas Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος. Συμβουλή στην έρευνα του βίου και του συγγραφικού του έργου* (Athens, 1988), Letter 75.
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, ed. F. Kolovou (Berlin, 2001), Letter 80.

Athanasios, Bishop of Coron
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letter 1.

Basil Katomerites, a villein and the brother of John Katomerites
Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici, ed. E. Strehlke (Berlin, 1869), no. 130.

Catherine Beriboessa, sister or sister-in-law of Nikephoros Beriboes
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 163.

Chalkoutses, *ktematikos archon*
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 137.

Constantina, daughter of the archbishop of Athens
Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica majora, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols (London, 1872–83), vol. 5, pp. 286–7.

Daimonogiannes[142]
The Chronicle of Morea, A History in Political Verse, Relating the Establishment of Feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the Thirteenth Century, ed. J.J. Schmitt (London, 1904), v.2946.

Demetrios, Bishop of Karystos
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 109.

Demetrios Makrembolites
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 122, 123, 145, 150.

141 Sources relating to the papacy have been excluded from discussion here.

142 This individual could be the same as George (Eu)daimonogiannes.

Doxapatres, *archon*[143]
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 113.

Doxapatres Boutsaras
The Chronicle of Morea, v.1762.

Eudokia Angelina, wife of Leo Sgouros
Nicetae Choniatae Historia, ed. I.-A. van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin–New York, 1975), vol. 1, p. 611.

Eugenia Tychomyra
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 172.

Euthymios Tornikes, deacon
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 97, 98, 102, 103, 104, 108, 112, 112, 134, 139, 147, 153, 159, 170, 176.
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letters 22, 23, 24.

Gabriel Larynx, *archon*
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, ed. G. Prinzing (Berlin, 2002), Essay 22.

Gabriel Sgouros, brother of Leo Sgouros
Nicetae Choniatae Historia, vol. 1, p. 611.

George Bardanes, *chartophylax* of Michael Choniates and later bishop of Corfu
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 109, 110, 111, 117, 118, 140, 141, 142, 143, 156, 158, 160, 181.
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letters 29, 36, 37, 65, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82.

George Choniates, nephew of Michael Choniates
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 100, 101, 163.
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, 150.

George (Eu)Daimonogiannes, *protopansebastohypertatos*, father-in-law of John Chamaretos
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, Essay 22.

George Kallistos, a physician
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 107.

[143] This individual could be the same as Doxapatres Boutsaras.

George Pistophilos
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 155.

Ignatios, Bishop of Kythnos and Kea
S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), p. 61.

Ioannikios, Abbot of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letter 99.

Ioannikios, Abbot of the Monastery of Hosios Meletios
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 93, 96, 133, 157, 161, 178.
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letter 58.

Irene Hagiogathike
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letter 1a.

Isaiah Antiochites, a cleric
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 84.

John, a painter of frescoes in the Argolid
Dennis Feissel and Anne Philippidis-Braat, 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. III. Inscriptions du Peloponnèse (à l'exception de Mistra)', *Travaux et mémoires*, 9 (1985): 311–12.
Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, p. 64.

John Chamaretos, *despot*, son-in-law of George (Eu)daimonogiannes
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, Essay 22.

John Gonoples, a landowner, the brother of Kyriakos Gonoples
Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici, no. 130.

John Kalokairos
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 132, 134, 135, 158.

John Katomerites, a villein, the brother of Basil Katomerites
Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici, no. 130.

John Syrinos
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 142.

John Syropoulos, a messenger
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 155.

Katzaris, a captain from Monemvasia
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 84.

Komolardos, Abbot of St George at Makre
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 116.

Kyriakos Gonoples, a landowner, the brother of John Gonoples
Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici, no. 130.

Leo Chamaretos
Nicetae Choniatae Historia, vol. 1, pp. 611, 638.

Leo Makros, *grammatikos* of Michael Choniates and later bishop of Vellas
Nikos A. Bees and Helene Bees-Seferlis, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 21 (1971–74), nos. 13, 68.

Leo Sgouros, *despot*
Nicetae Choniatae Historia, vol. 1, pp. 605–8, 611, 638.
The Chronicle of Morea, vv.1468–88, 1528.

Luke, a monk
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 99.

Luke, Abbot of the Monastery of St George in Kerameikos
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 116.

Mamonas, *archon*
The Chronicle of Morea, v.2946.

Manuel, Bishop of Thebes
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 90, 91.

Manuel Beriboes, deacon
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 112, 113, 148, 152.

Manuel Koubaras, *sebastos*
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, Essay 22.

Manuel Mourmouras, *kyr*
Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, 'Inventaires', pp. 311–12.
Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, p. 64.

Manuel Stases, *hypotagatos*
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, Essay 22.

Martinianos, Abbot of Monastery of Prodromos
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 168.

Michael, a monk
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 73.

Michael, nephew of Michael Choniates
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 88, 89, 121, 164.

Michael Choniates, grandnephew of Michael Choniates and the son of George Choniates
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 100.

Michael Chamaretos, paternal uncle of John Chamaretos
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, Essay 22.

Michael Choniates, Archbishop of Athens
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, passim.
Nicetae Choniatae Historia, vol. 1, pp. 605, 609.
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letters 6, 36, 39, 49, 52, 53, 75.

Michael Kalokairos, a monk
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 99.

Neophytos, a monk
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 99.

Nicholas, Bishop of Vonitsa
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letters 25, 31, 72, 74, 78, 86, 102.

Nicholas, a painter of frescoes based in or near Chalkis
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letters 24, 31.

Nicholas Kalodoukes, a physician
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 92, 115, 131.

Nicholas Pistophilos, *didaskalos*
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 112, 113, 114, 151.

Nikephoros Beriboes
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 162, 177.

Niketas, nephew of Michael Choniates
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 95, 121, 132.
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letters 43, 53, 95, 96.

Nyktopas
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 142.

Orphanos, *protekdikos* and monk of the Monastery of Hosios Meletios
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 157.

Peter, a beekeeper and monk of the Monastery of Prodromos
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 106, 156.

Philip, a monk from the Monastery of Prodromos
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letter 54.

Pleures, *sakellarios* of Michael Choniates
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 144.

Sophianos, *archon*
The Chronicle of Morea, v.2947.

Staurax, *archon*
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 105.

Steiriones, the captain of a privateer[144]
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 65, 98.

Stephen Makrogones, a sailor
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 131.

Theodora Mourmoura, wife of Manuel Mourmouras
Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, 'Inventaires', pp. 311–12.
Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, p. 64.

Theodore, Bishop of Euripos
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 105, 146, 154.

Theodosios Spinges, a monk
A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Συνοδικὰ γράμματα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀποκαύκου, μητροπολίτου Ναυπάκτου', *Βυζαντίς*, 1 (1909): item 2, pp. 9–13.

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144 This individual is almost certainly to be identified with John Steiriones or Giovanni Stirione, a former commander of the Byzantine fleet.

Theophylaktos, nephew of Michael Choniates
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 95.

Anonymous Abbot of the Monastery of the Confessors
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130.

Anonymous Abbot of the Monastery of Kaisariane
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 156.

Anonymous Abbot of the Monastery of the Philosophers
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 120.

Anonymous Bishop of Maina
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, Essay 22.

Anonymous Bishop of Vonitsa and Chimara
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letter 100.

Anonymous clergyman acting as a courier
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, Essay 22.

Anonymous daughter of Catherine Beriboessa, wife of George, a nephew of Michael Choniates
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 163.

Anonymous daughter of George Daimonogiannes, married to John Chamaretos
Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora, Essay 22.

Anonymous daughter of Nyktopas
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 142.

Anonymous *grammatikos* from Thebes
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 106.

Anonymous, lord of the region near Modon[145]
Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. J. Dufournet (Paris, 2004), §326.

Anonymous, lord of the region near Modon, son of the above
Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, §§327–8.

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145 This individual is probably to be identified with a member of the Chamaretos family, perhaps Leo Chamaretos.

Anonymous messenger sent by Michael Choniates to Arta
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letter 167.

Anonymous military man from the region of Corinth
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letter 90.

Anonymous monk from Laconia, who was granted the monastery of *Asomaton*
Lampropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος*, Letter 21.

Anonymous orphaned nephew of the Abbot of the Confessors
Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, Letters 128, 130.

Anonymous priest from Patras[146]
Bees and Bees-Seferlis, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke', Letter 16.

Anonymous priest from Patras
Bees and Bees-Seferlis, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke', Letter 55.

146 This individual and the individual below do not appear to be the same person.


Southern Greece
Neai Patrai (Neopatras)
Bodonitsa
NEGROPONTE (EUBOIA)
Chalkis
Salona
Naupaktos
BOIOTIA
Thebes
Patras
Chalandritsa
ATTICA
Karystos
KEPHALONIA
Clarentza
Andravida
Megara
Athens
Chlemoutsi
Corinth
KEA
Akova
PELOPONNESE
(MOREA)
Argos
Nauplion
ZAKYNTHOS
Nikli
Alpheios
Veligosti
KYTHNOS
Arcadia
Lakedaimonia
Kalamata
Mistra
Navarino
Geraki
Modon
Coron
Monemvasia
Maina
KYTHERA
0 25 50 km

Chapter 3
The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261: Marriage Strategies

Michael Angold

A study of the marriage strategies adopted by ruling families is a useful exercise in itself. They were in most medieval societies an integral part of the political and diplomatic process, but in terms of prosopography their study might seem a somewhat basic undertaking. The fact of the matter, however, is that there has been no systematic study of the marriage alliances of those families that established the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1204; still less has there been any attempt to create a prosopography of the Latin Empire, even though the foundations are there in the shape of Jean Longnon's *Compagnons de Villehardouin*, which provides a prosopography of those who took part in the Fourth Crusade.[1] Despite unrivalled knowledge of the families of the Latin Empire, Longnon was never tempted to examine their marriage strategies. The closest thing we have is Donald Nicol's 'Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century',[2] but it is concerned far more with their canon law implications than it is with their political and social importance. Nevertheless it provides a useful starting point.

A study of marriage strategies provides a good introduction to some of the concerns of this volume, because it forces us to think about how the fall of Constantinople in 1204 changed the face of Byzantium. It means looking again at the approach adopted by modern historians, who taking their cue from contemporary Byzantine accounts have treated the Latins as alien intruders. As a result nobody has been able to find a common framework for the different regimes that came into being in the wake of the Latin conquest of Constantinople. It has been normal to treat the successor states of the Byzantine Empire as historical entities in their own right. But if political fragmentation was undoubtedly the order of the day, this does not mean that there were no significant contacts between the various Latin and Greek regimes that came into being after the fall of Constantinople in 1204.

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1 Jean Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin. Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade*, Hautes etudes médiévales et modernes, 30 (Geneva–Paris, 1978).

2 Donald M. Nicol, 'Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century', *Studies in Church History*, 1 (1964): pp. 160–72, reprinted in Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 12 (London, 1972), article IV.

These often took the form of marriage alliances; please refer to Tables 3.1 and 3.2 at the end of this chapter.

Western expansion into the Mediterranean provides a wider context for the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, for it was only the latest chapter in a movement that had already seen the creation of both the Norman kingdom of Sicily and the crusader states. This, in its turn, was part of a more general expansion, which beginning in the eleventh century saw French and German nobilities establish their ascendancy over the borderlands of the medieval West from the Celtic fringe to the Slav East, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. This is the theme of Robert Bartlett's *Making of Europe*. He notes that intermarriage with local dynasties was one strategy adopted by French and German incomers as a means of establishing themselves in new lands. Given how few in number they were, there was often little else that they could do.[3]

In this general context of medieval western expansion the Latin Empire of Constantinople stands out by reason of its swift failure. Thessalonike returned to the Greeks in 1224 and Constantinople in 1261, leaving only the Peloponnese, Athens and Thebes in Frankish hands, although Crete, Cyprus and many Aegean islands remained under Latin control. But the failure of the Latin Empire was far from being a foregone conclusion, despite the disaster suffered at the hands of the Bulgarians in March 1205 at the battle of Adrianople, when the death of many of the Frankish nobility had more serious long-term consequences than the disappearance, presumed captured, of the first Latin emperor Baldwin I. The throne passed to his brother Henry of Hainault (1206–1216), who by the time of his death seemed to have made the Latin Empire of Constantinople a permanent feature of the political system of the Near East.[4] He was able to win recognition, in one form or another, of his superior authority from all the major rulers within the old Byzantine Empire, whether in Epiros, Nicaea or Bulgaria. His position was underpinned by a series of marriage alliances, which united the Latin Empire not only with local Byzantine and Slav rulers, but also with the crown of Hungary. It was a way of reasserting Constantinople's central position. In other words, Henry was working within much the same system of alliances as had dominated the foreign policy of his Byzantine predecessors. It was all of a piece with his policy of appropriating Byzantine imperial traditions.

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[3] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Harmondsworth, 1993), pp. 55–6.

[4] Filip van Tricht, '"La gloire de l'Empire". L'idée impériale de Henri de Flandre-Hainaut, deuxième empereur latin de Constantinople (1206–1216)', *Byzantion*, 70 (2000): pp. 211–41; Filip van Tricht, 'La politique étrangère de l'empire de Constantinople, de 1210 à 1216. Sa position en Méditerranée orientale; problèmes de chronologie et d'interprétation', *Le Moyen Âge*, 107 (2001): pp. 219–38 and 409–38.

I

There had long been marriage connections between the Byzantine imperial house and the dynasties of the Latin West. At the turn of the twelfth century there were Byzantine princesses presiding over the courts of the crusader states, of Hungary, Austria, Montpellier, and even on a very modest scale in Tuscany.[5] Both Renier and Conrad of Montferrat, brothers of Boniface, the leader of the Fourth Crusade, married Byzantine princesses.[6] With such a background it might have seemed that the obvious step was for the conquerors of Constantinople to take Byzantine brides. But at first they seem not to have done so, with the partial exception of Boniface of Montferrat, who snapped up Margaret of Hungary, the recently widowed consort of the emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–95; 1203–1204). Though not strictly speaking a Byzantine princess, she had absorbed Byzantine ways through long years at the imperial court and had valuable contacts among the Byzantine aristocracy.[7]

This is equally true of an even grander western princess who had made Byzantium her home – Agnes (or Anna, as she was renamed), sister of Philip Augustus, king of France, who was married first to the emperor Alexios II Komnenos (1180–83) and then to the usurper Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–85). She became more Byzantine than the Byzantines. Robert of Clari, a chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, reports her haughty reaction when called upon to meet a party of crusaders. She was very reluctant to do so. She found it somewhat distasteful; she claimed that she had forgotten her French and insisted on using an interpreter to speak to her fellow countrymen.[8] She was now married to a Byzantine aristocrat Theodore Branas, which at least seems to have secured his loyalty to the new regime.[9] Despite the presence of these highly Byzantinized princesses, who might have acted as marriage brokers, there were, at first, few, if any, marriages of the leaders of the crusade into Byzantine aristocratic houses. At a desperate time they preferred to strengthen group loyalties by taking Latin brides, so Henry of Hainault married a daughter of Boniface of Montferrat. This was a way of ending the bad blood that existed between the houses of Montferrat and Flanders.[10]

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[5] Konstantinos Barzos, Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών, 2 vols (Thessalonike, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 346–59, esp. p. 352.

[6] Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 449 and 843–4.

[7] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1961), vol. 2, §262. Cf. ibid., vol. 1, §§185–6; ibid., vol. 2, §212.

[8] Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Noble, British Rencesvals Publications, 3 (Edinburgh, 2005), LIII, pp. 66–7.

[9] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, vol. 2, §§403, 413, 423; *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, vol. 23 (Hanover, 1874), p. 885, lines 21–4.

[10] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, vol. 2, §§450 and 457–8; Jean Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), p. 92.

Henry of Hainault's position was not improved in September 1207, when his new father-in-law died in a Bulgarian ambush. It added to his cares the problem of the succession to the throne of Thessalonike. For a short while it looked as though Michael Doukas, the ruler of Epiros, would be the beneficiary, along with the Bulgarian princelings Alexios Slavos, who ruled from Melnik, and Dobromir Strez, who was based at Prosek. Generally speaking, the Franks held their own in any military encounter, but the problem facing Henry of Hainault was to find a stable basis for relations with these petty rulers. Marriage alliances were one solution. In 1209 he came to terms with Michael Doukas. Their understanding was cemented by the marriage of Henry's younger brother Eustace to Michael Doukas' daughter.[11] Henry may have complained that Michael was not the most reliable of allies, but by and large he supported the Latins.[12] In 1210 he helped his son-in-law Eustace to win a victory over Dobromir Strez near Pelagonia. The latter had been cleverly isolated by Henry, who won over Alexios Slavos by giving him an illegitimate daughter to wife in 1208 and by granting him the title of despot.[13] By these means he brought Alexios into the orbit of the Latin Empire. It was now difficult for the Bulgarian tsar Boril (1207–1218) to continue his hostile stance towards the crusaders. After a thrust against Thessalonike had ended in fiasco, he came to terms with Henry in 1213. The new alliance was cemented by Henry's marriage to a daughter or possibly an adopted daughter of Boril.[14] This did not reduce the Bulgarian Empire to dependency on Latin Constantinople, but it ended the Bulgarian threat.

Contributing enormously to Boril's willingness to accommodate Henry was the overwhelming victory that the Latin emperor won in the autumn of 1211 over his rival in Asia Minor, Theodore Laskaris. He followed this up with a thrust deep into the Laskarid territories, which brought him to Nymphaion, a few miles inland from Smyrna. This forced Theodore Laskaris to negotiate with Henry. The full details of the ensuing treaty have not survived, but we know that Laskaris made significant territorial concessions. He gave up North-western Asia Minor together

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[11] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. J. Longnon, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, 2 (Paris, 1948), §§689–94, pp. 118–21; cf. Demeter Angelov in this volume.

[12] Günter Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel vom 13. Januar 1212', *Byzantion*, 43 (1973): p. 412, lines 30–34, and the chapter in this volume by the same author.

[13] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri*, ed. Longnon, §§546–9, pp. 48–50, and §§555–9, pp. 52–4; George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978), vol. 1, p. 39, lines 1–4; transl. R. Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History* (Oxford, 2007), p. 172.

[14] Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Noble, CXVI–CXVIII, pp. 130–32.

with virtually all the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara.[15] This represented nearly a third of the territory Laskaris controlled before the start of Henry's campaign. If not by the terms of the treaty then by the logic of his weakened position, Theodore Laskaris allowed himself to be gradually drawn into the orbit of Latin Constantinople through a series of marriages. Given what had happened with other enemies of the Latin Empire there is every reason to expect that Henry would have arranged a marriage there and then for Theodore Laskaris, who was at the time a widower. There was, however, an obstacle. Laskaris was already engaged in negotiations for a bride with Leo I (1187/1198–1219), the Armenian king of Cilicia. There are circumstantial reasons for believing that these had papal support, not least because Theodore Laskaris was in the middle of talks with Pelagius, the papal legate, when the marriage eventually took place in the city of Nicaea at Christmas 1214.[16]

The disputed succession to the principality of Antioch formed the background to this marriage. Henry of Hainault and Pope Innocent III disagreed over who should rule Antioch, which had long been divided by a war of succession. Henry backed a claimant, Bohemond IV, who was at loggerheads with the papacy, and who had recognized the suzerainty over Antioch of the Latin emperor of Constantinople as a means of excluding papal authority. He then drove the Latin patriarch out of Antioch and instead welcomed the Orthodox patriarch. The papacy for its part tended to support a great-nephew of Leo of Armenia as its candidate for the principality of Antioch. In 1214, in order to isolate Bohemond IV, it facilitated a marriage between Leo's daughter Rita, also known as Stephanie, and the king of Jerusalem, John of Brienne.[17] At the same time, Theodore Laskaris married Leo's niece; his Armenian marriage therefore fits neatly into this pattern of papal diplomacy.

It looks very much as though Theodore Laskaris was using the differences that existed between Henry of Hainault and the papacy over Antioch as a way of minimizing the immediate consequences of a very serious defeat at the hands of the Latin emperor. He soon realized, however, that there was more to be gained from closer ties with the Latin Empire. Within a year he had found canonical grounds on which to repudiate his Armenian bride.[18] Instead of the daughter of Leo

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[15] George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, pp. 27–8; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 149.

[16] August Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (London, 1973), article III: 'Zu den armenisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts', pp. 3–20.

[17] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 134 and 138; Thomas S.R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 21–2.

[18] George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, pp. 26–7; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 148; Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien*, article III, pp. 3–9.

of Armenia he had been expecting, she turned out to be a mere niece. Theodore thus cleared the path for a Latin marriage with a niece of the emperor. Henry had already negotiated a marriage between his eldest niece Yolande of Courtenay and his ally King Andrew II of Hungary. Now her younger sister Marie was to become Theodore Laskaris' new wife.[19] The marriage did not take place until 1219 because of the uncertainties that followed the sudden death in June 1216 of Henry of Hainault, which was blamed by some on his Bulgarian wife.[20] The marriage of Theodore and Marie of Courtenay was complemented by two other sets of marriage negotiations, one successful and the other a failure. The success was the marriage of Theodore Laskaris' daughter Mary to Andrew of Hungary's son and successor Bela IV (1235–70).[21] It was arranged in 1218 at Nicaea, when the Hungarian king was returning overland from his perfunctory participation in the opening stages of the Fifth Crusade. The failure was the projected marriage of another daughter of Theodore Laskaris, Eudokia, to Robert of Courtenay, the heir to the throne of Latin Constantinople.[22]

This Laskarid policy of closer relations with the Latin rulers of Constantinople provoked opposition in Nicaea. The proposed union of Eudokia and Robert not only excited the indignation of the Orthodox Church,[23] but also fell victim to the change of regime at Nicaea that followed the death of Theodore I Laskaris in November 1221. In what looks very much like a coup d'État, his eventual successor was his son-in-law John Batatzes, who set aside the rights of Theodore Laskaris' 6-year-old son Constantine (by his Armenian bride)[24] and forced out Theodore's brothers, who stood by the alliance with the Latin Empire. They fled to Latin Constantinople, but had to leave Eudokia behind.[25] Their attempt to drive John Batatzes from the throne with Latin help was a failure, which cost the Latin Empire control of North-western Asia Minor.[26] As part of the ensuing settlement John Batatzes revived the

19 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 27, lines 1–3; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 145; *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 906, lines 33–9.

20 Longnon, *L'empire latin*, p. 151.

21 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 26, lines 13–15; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 48; *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 911, line 40.

22 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 31, lines 3–7; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 157.

23 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 31, lines 7–9; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 157.

24 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 31, lines 15–18; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 157; see also Vincent Puech in this volume.

25 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 23–27; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 166.

26 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, pp. 35–6 and 38, lines 6–12; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, pp. 166 and 171.

plan for a marriage between Eudokia and Robert of Courtenay.[27] This time the Latin emperor refused to have anything to do with Eudokia Laskarina, who seems to have found refuge at the Hungarian court, where her sister arranged a marriage for her into the house of the Babenberg.[28] This meant that three dukes of Austria in succession took Byzantine brides.[29] However, by 1229 Eudokia found herself repudiated. She returned to the Nicaean court where at the insistence of her sister Irene, the consort of the emperor John Batatzes, she married Anseau de Cayeux, who became regent of the Latin Empire in 1237.[30] We catch a last glimpse of Eudokia in 1247, when her husband left her in command of the Thracian fortress of Tzouroulos on the assumption that no Nicaean emperor would be so ungallant as to lay siege to a fortress housing his sister-in-law. He was mistaken. John Batatzes took Tzouroulos and despatched Eudokia to Constantinople in disgrace.[31]

This incident brings to a close a chapter that began with Henry of Hainault's effort to use marriage alliances to root the Latin Empire in the political realities created by the crusaders' conquest of Constantinople in 1204. After Henry's death Theodore I Laskaris continued the momentum to integrate Greek and Latin into a common dynastic framework, which he hoped to dominate now that the Latin Empire was showing signs of weakness. However, the intransigence of the emperor Robert of Courtenay put paid to any such hopes. His refusal to marry Eudokia Laskarina had something to do with his love for a Frankish woman settled in Constantinople, who was the daughter of a knight killed at Adrianople. There were those in the Latin baronage who found this relationship offensive. They burst into Robert's private apartments in the Blachernai palace, cut off the nose and lips of the emperor's mistress, and drowned her mother. This humiliation was too much for the emperor, who departed for Rome, hoping to win support against his barons

27 *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskès, évêque de Tournay au treizième siècle*, ed. F.A.F.Th. de Reiffenberg (Brussels, 1836), vol. 2, p. 409, vv.23195–206.

28 *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 911, line 39, where her name is given as Sophia, which is not a Byzantine baptismal name and seems to have been a name given by Latins to Byzantine princesses. A process of elimination leaves only Eudokia of Theodore I Laskaris' daughters available to have married into the House of Babenberg at this juncture. One assumes that Sophia was the name she was given at the Austrian court.

29 Polychronis K. Enepekides, 'Byzantinische Prinzessinnen im Hause der Babenberger und die byzantinischen Einflüsse in den österreichischen Ländern des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts', in *Actes du 9e Congrès des Études byzantines*, vol. 2 (Thessalonike, 1956), pp. 368–74, though it is difficult to accept his view that Eudokia aka Sophia was a daughter of Theodore I Laskaris' Armenian bride.

30 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 85, lines 7–11; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 245.

31 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 85, lines 11–22; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 245.

from the papacy. He died in 1228 en route back to Constantinople.[32] Because of the salacious details of this episode, historians have failed to register its importance. Robert was clearly trying to assert himself against a section of his barons who favoured entente with the Greeks. On his departure from Constantinople they appointed his sister Mary, widow of Theodore I Laskaris, as regent for Robert's younger brother Baldwin. She died soon afterwards. Her successor was Narjot de Toucy, who had married a daughter of Agnes of France and Theodore Branas, the Greek lord of Adrianople. It was at this juncture that Anseau de Cayeux married Eudokia, daughter of Theodore I Laskaris.[33]

Arrangements for the minority of Baldwin II, who had succeeded his brother Robert in 1228, provoked divisions among Latin opinion. With the backing of his father-in-law King Andrew II of Hungary, the Bulgarian tsar John II Asen offered to act as regent and protector of the empire during Baldwin's minority. As a guarantee of his good intentions he proposed a marriage alliance between his daughter Helena and the young emperor-elect.[34] This proposal was rejected by the barons in favour of an approach to John of Brienne, the former king of Jerusalem, who was to hold the Latin Empire in trust for the young Baldwin. The latter duly married John of Brienne's daughter and succeeded to the throne of Constantinople on his father-in-law's death in 1237. Thereafter, the Latin Empire became a satellite of the kingdom of France, as the sale of the relics of the passion to Louis IX underlined.[35] Henry of Hainault's attempt at embedding the Latin Empire of Constantinople in a Byzantine framework had come to nothing. It meant that its best hope of survival had disappeared.

Eudokia Laskarina was left as a relic of old diplomacy. Though there is no record of any children of her marriage to Anseau of Cayeux, the Anseau of Cayeux, chamberlain of Romania, last heard of in 1269 in the service of Charles of Anjou may conceivably have been their son.[36] The other relics were Theodore

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32 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. M.L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 393–5; Longnon, *L'empire latin*, pp. 167–8.

33 Ibid., p. 169.

34 Ibid., p. 170.

35 Jannic Durand and Marie-Pierre Lafitte, *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris, 2001), pp. 37–41.

36 The assumption often made is that this chamberlain of Romania was one and the same as the Anseau who married Eudokia Laskarina in 1229, and not the son of this marriage. The trouble is that, when last heard of in 1269, he was arranging a marriage for his daughter Eve, who was therefore likely to have been born around 1254. This in its turn would suggest a date of around 1230 for his own birth. The Anseau who married Eudokia Laskarina is likely to have been born around 1204, given among other things that he was regent of the Latin Empire in 1237, when he must have reached mature years. Though it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he could have been the father of a daughter born to a second marriage around 1254, it is much more than likely that he was dead by then. For biographical details, see Deno J. Geanakoplos, 'Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of

Branas and Agnes of France. As lord of Adrianople and Didymoteichon Theodore enjoyed a prominent position in the counsels of the Latin Empire until 1225 when he lost control of Adrianople, after its citizens had invited John Batatzes to take possession of their city.[37] The Branas family reappear later in the thirteenth century with extensive estates around Smyrna.[38] It was now allied to the House of Palaiologos thanks to the marriage in 1259 of Theodore Branas' granddaughter Irene to Michael Palaiologos' youngest brother Constantine.[39] As we shall see, one of its advantages at this juncture was the link it forged between the Palaiologoi and the Toucys, one of the greatest Latin families. It will be remembered that around 1219 a daughter of Theodore Branas had married Narjot de Toucy, a man of growing influence in Latin Constantinople.[40] He succeeded Marie of Courtenay as regent in 1228 and then served again in 1240. His death in 1241 brought his son Philip to the regency.[41] In 1236 Narjot's elder daughter became the first wife of William of Villehardouin, the future prince of Achaia, which emphasized the standing of the Toucy family.[42] But a more chequered future awaited his younger daughter, Marguerite. As a very young girl (*infra annos pubertatis*), she joined her elder sister in the Peloponnese, where she entered a Cistercian convent, apparently of her own volition, but having made her vows she almost immediately abandoned her monastic calling and left the convent, which was the cause of lasting resentment at the loss of so valuable a recruit. A papal letter of 15 April 1252 names the convent as Pyrn, which is clearly an abbreviation.[43] Given that the letter is addressed to the Latin bishop of Monemvasia it makes sense to look for the convent in the vicinity of Monemvasia. It is therefore inherently plausible to locate the convent, as Haris Kalligas has done, at Pirnikos or Prinikos, which

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the Byzantine Restoration: The Battle of Pelagonia – 1259', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 7 (1953): pp. 137–41.

37 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 38, lines 12–21; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, pp. 171–2.

38 Hélène Ahrweiler, 'L'histoire et la géographie de la region de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turque (1081–1317)', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 1 (1965): pp. 168–9.

39 Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler and transl. V. Laurent, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, 24 (Paris, 1984), 1,II,9: vol. 1, p. 139, lines 1–2; Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460: A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (Washington, DC, 1968), no. 11, pp. 10–11.

40 See Jean Longnon, 'Les Toucys en Orient', *Bulletin de la Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne* (1953–56; publ. 1958): pp. 3–11.

41 See Longnon, *L'empire latin*, pp. 182–5.

42 *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 939, lines 3–5.

43 *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd series, 4 vols (Paris, 1884–1921), vol. 3, no. 5647.

lies some 20 miles to the south-west of Monemvasia in the district of Helos.[44] But the choice of so remote a spot, far from the main residence of the Frankish prince of Achaia at Andravida in Elis, suggests that there was more to this than meets the eye. Why otherwise should Marguerite have expressed fears in 1252 that her forthcoming marriage to Leonard of Veroli, the chancellor of the principality, might provoke troubles centred on her old convent, because there were those who were maliciously advancing her entry into religion as an impediment to marriage? She turned for help to the papacy, which provided her with the necessary support to proceed with her marriage. Her difficulties may well be connected with the death of her sister some 10 years earlier, which would have deprived Marguerite of a protector and have turned her into something of a prize disputed between different groups. Though not as splendid as she might once have expected, marriage to the chancellor of the principality will have had its compensations. Quite by chance we have an inventory of the chancellor's library. It contained legal and medical texts, but it also revealed a taste for romances, of which there were no less than 14 itemized, and there was one Greek book.[45] Since Leonard was from Apulia and did not know Greek, could it have been his wife who was responsible for its presence in his library?[46] Her younger brother Anselin is singled out in the *Chronicle of the Morea* for his knowledge of the Greek language and customs.[47] He fell into Byzantine hands after the battle of Pelagonia in 1259 along with his brother-in-law William of Villehardouin.[48] On his mother's side he was a cousin of the emperor Michael Palaiologos, who released him against a promise that he would use his house on the walls of Constantinople to facilitate the Byzantine recovery of the city; a promise that he never fulfilled.[49]

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44 Haris A. Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia: The Sources* (Monemvasia, 1990), p. 211.

45 Roberto Filangieri *et alii*, *I registri della cancellaria angioina, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana*, 1st series, vol. 23 (Naples, 1981), Reg. cii, 177.

46 It would be asking too much for the 'Greek Book' to be Vat. Gr. 1851. This is an illustrated manuscript that contains *Eiseterioi* or greetings for Agnes of France, Marguerite's grandmother, when she first arrived in Constantinople in 1179. See Cecily J. Hilsdale, 'Constructing a Byzantine Augusta: A Greek Book for a French Bride', *Art Bulletin*, 87 (2005): pp. 458–83; Michael Jeffreys, 'The Vernacular eiseterioi for Agnes of France', in Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys and Ann Moffat (eds), *Byzantine Papers: Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference, Canberra, 17–19 May 1978* (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1981), pp. 101–15. Unfortunately, there is no known provenance for Vat. Gr. 1851: Paul Canart, *Les Vaticani Graeci 1487–1962* (City of the Vatican, 1979), p. 253.

47 *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. J. Schmitt (London, 1904), vv.5233–4.

48 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 170, lines 15–18; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 361.

49 George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, pp. 174–5; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, pp. 367–8. It is surely no coincidence that the alliance, which created the relationship between the emperor Michael Palaiologos and Anselin de

II

In 1261 Anselin de Toucy escaped from Constantinople in the company of the Latin emperor Baldwin II and established himself in the principality of Achaia, which had become a refuge for the nobility of Latin Constantinople.[50] This is a reminder that, if the Latin Empire came to an abrupt end, the Frankish territories established after 1204 in the Greek lands were to have a long history. Their final remnants even survived the fall of Constantinople in 1453: the Ottomans only annexed the Acciajuoli duchy of Athens in 1460, while the duchy of the Archipelago survived for a further century. Intermarriage between Greek and Latin ruling families became commonplace in fourteenth-century Greece, but in the initial period of settlement it was a rarity. The conquering families preferred to marry among themselves. It was part of a clear desire to preserve a French way of doing things. The first important political marriage, which united Frankish and Greek ruling families, came at the very end of our period in 1258, when William of Villehardouin, the prince of Achaia, married Anna Doukaina, daughter of the despot Michael, ruler of Epiros.[51] This marriage cemented an alliance between the two rulers. William hoped that this would strengthen his position in his struggle with the Venetians and Guy de la Roche, the lord of Athens. For his part, on the strength of this marriage Michael sought and obtained Frankish assistance against the Greeks of Nicaea, who by now controlled Thessalonike. The result was the battle of Pelagonia in the summer of 1259, which was a disaster for the Franks. Deserted by their Epirot allies, they suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Nicaean forces. Virtually all the Frankish barons together with their prince ended up in captivity.[52] This brought the first phase of the history of Frankish settlement in Greece to an end. The Greek *Chronicle of the Morea* reflects mordantly on the lesson to be learnt: marriage with a Greek was not a good idea.[53] William of Villehardouin nevertheless remained married to Anna Doukaina. In his last will and testament he left her as her dower Kalamata and Chlemoutsi, and she was soon a catch

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Toucy – the marriage of the emperor's youngest brother Constantine to Irene Branaina, a first cousin of Anselin de Toucy on his mother's side –, should have occurred at exactly this juncture in 1259. See also Geanakoplos, 'Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration', pp. 137–41.

[50] *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, vv.1324 and 1331–2.

[51] George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, pp. 157–8 and p. 164, lines 4–5; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, pp. 344 and 354; *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, vv.3111–37.

[52] Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 172–82; Geanakoplos, 'Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration', pp. 99–141.

[53] *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, vv.3932–7. See Ruth Macrides, 'Dynastic Marriages and Political Kinship', in Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (eds), *Byzantine Diplomacy*, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications, 1 (Aldershot, 1992), p. 263.

for Nicholas II of Saint-Omer, the lord of Thebes.[54] At least in the Greek Lands, Anna Doukaina's marriages initiated much closer family ties between Frankish and Greek ruling families.[55]

The marriage of William of Villehardouin to Anna Doukaina does not quite exhaust the marriages contracted in our period between Latin and Greek families. Another marriage united Maio, count palatine of Kephalonia, to a sister of the emperor of Thessalonike, Theodore Doukas, before April 1228.[56] It is quite surprising for a number of reasons. First, it is recorded in a document drawn up by the Latin bishop of Kephalonia in Greek that expresses the bishop's loyalty to Maio, to his wife, the *paneugenestate Komnene*, and to their children. The main purpose of the document, however, was to obtain the bishop's consent to the succession of their son Theodore.[57] Second, this remarkable document has been preserved among the papers of John Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos, in whose archive it was registered. Incidentally, the Latin bishop refers to Apokaukos as 'my *despotes*'. At the same time he reveals that Kephalonia came under the imperial authority of 'our *Basileus* Theodore Doukas'. Chronicle sources make it clear that Maio was a brother-in-law of Theodore Doukas,[58] but given that Theodore was born in the 1180s, any sister of his would be well into her 30s by 1228. This suggests that, if Maio did indeed marry a sister of Theodore, the marriage would have taken place rather earlier. Konstantinos Barzos saw the difficulties and proposed that Maio made two marriages, the first to Theodore's sister around 1216, and the second to a niece some 10 years later.[59] Since there is nothing to support two marriages, it is better to stick with a single marriage to a sister of Theodore, which is likely to have taken place around 1222.[60] Given that Theodore controlled the islands of Corfu and Leukas, it made sense for Maio to ally with him. Maio's wife seems to have brought as her dowry lands in Thessaly, which he later gifted to Theodore's wife,

54 *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, vv.8062–79.

55 Paul Magdalino, 'Between Romaniae: Thessaly and Epirus in the Later Middle Ages', in Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (eds), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), pp. 87–110.

56 Andreas Kiesewetter, 'Preludio alla quarta crociata? Megareites di Brindisi, Maio di Cefalonia e la signoria sulle isole ionie (1185–1250)', in Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani and P. Schreiner (eds), *Quarta Crociata. Venezia – Bisanzio – Impero Latino* (Venice, 2006), p. 238.

57 Nikos A. Bees, 'Ein politisches Treubekenntnis von Benedictus, dem römisch-katholischen Bischof von Kefalonia (1228)', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 3 (1922): pp. 165–76.

58 *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 938, line 43.

59 Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. 1, no. 173, pp. 668–9.

60 In 1222 Maio put himself and his territories under the protection of the papacy, as an alternative to the Latin Empire. This looks very much like an insurance policy for a change of political direction. See Kiesewetter, 'Preludio alla quarta crociata?', p. 358.

Empress Mary Petraliphina.[61] Although Theodore Doukas arranged marriages for his close relatives with the ruling families of Serbia and Bulgaria, the marriage alliance with Maio was the only one with a Latin. Quite another question, however, is exactly what was the nature of the authority exercised by Theodore over his brother-in-law. Did it mean that Maio had exchanged his allegiance to the Latin emperor for the Greek emperor of Thessalonike, Theodore Doukas? This is more than likely, but the latter's overthrow in 1230 changed the political complexion of the region. Maio returned to his Latin allegiance and in 1236 became a vassal of Geoffrey II of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, and helped him lift the blockade of Latin Constantinople by the Nicaean fleet. He, or his successor, then provided the next prince of Achaia, Geoffrey's brother William, with ships for the siege of Monemvasia.[62]

There is a chance that another vassal of the Latin Empire, Marco Sanudo, the conqueror of the Archipelago, married a sister of the Nicaean emperor Theodore I Laskaris. The source is the Venetian chronicle traditionally ascribed to Enrico Dandolo, which dates to the mid-fourteenth century, but which made use of earlier material. The episode hinges on Marco Sanudo's attack on the city of Smyrna and the surrounding countryside, which he can only have undertaken in support of the Latin emperor Henry's thrust south in 1212 to neighbouring Nymphaion. Marco Sanudo's galleys were no match for the Nicaean fleet and he found himself a prisoner in the hands of Theodore I Laskaris, who was, however, so impressed by his captive that he gave him his sister in marriage. It is just conceivably possible.[63]

61 Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1860–90), vol. 4, p. 346. See Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, p. 155, n. 3, who questions this identification on no very strong grounds.

62 *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 938, lines 43–6; *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, v.2894. The genealogical table of the Orsini family at the back of Carl Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), p. 529, has the two daughters of Maio married to William de Merry and Baldwin d'Aine, important figures in Latin Constantinople, information that still continues to be retailed in respectable modern works, e.g. Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. 2, p. 669, but surely it is too much of a coincidence that in 1241 William and Baldwin married the two daughters of the Cuman chieftain Saronius: *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 950, lines 15–16.

63 John K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo, Conqueror of the Archipelago* (Oxford, 1915), pp. 66, 110, 111. But see now G. Saint-Guillain, 'Les conquerants de l'Archipel. L'empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades', in Ortalli, Ravegnani and Schreiner (eds), *Quarta Crociata*, vol. 1, pp. 125–237, esp. pp. 150–51 and 219–21, who points out that such a marriage fits well into the period of détente with the Nicaean Empire, which followed the peace treaty between the Latin emperor Henry and Theodore I Laskaris in 1214. It is also interesting that Marco Sanudo's son Angelo took the name Duca – a Laskaris family name – to be followed by his descendants: Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria di Romania*, in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 99.

However this may be, another marriage alliance of another Venetian lord of an island and a Greek family is well documented.

This is the marriage of Marco Venier to the daughter of Nicholas Eudaimonoiannes, which took place in 1238 and made Marco Venier the lord of Kythera. The Eudaimonoiannes were a well-known Monemvasiot family that had taken over Kythera at the end of the twelfth century. Nicholas Eudaimonoiannes extended his family's interests to Crete, where he was one of the leaders of the 1230 rebellion against Venetian rule. His marriage alliance with the Venier looks as though it was part of his successful attempt to reach an accommodation with the Venetians.[64]

III

But this example is the exception that proves the rule. Marriage with native families played virtually no role in the Latin conquest and settlement of the Greek lands and islands. After 1261 there were more marriages between Frank and Greek. This provides the starting point for Paul Magdalino's study of Thessaly and Epiros in the later middle ages, entitled 'Between Romaniae'.[65] What struck him most forcibly, however, was how little in the way of cultural borrowings, let alone fusion, these marriages brought. This still leaves the knotty problem of the *Chronicle of the Morea* and the vernacular Greek versions of French romances, which were clearly aimed at an audience primarily composed of the Latin and French settlers in the Greek lands. Their willingness to adopt the language of their subjects for literary purposes anticipates later developments in Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus. Why, and more importantly when, did vernacular Greek become the preferred literary language of the Franks of the Peloponnese? It may well be the case that we are dealing with a development, which in its essentials postdates 1261, when the Franks along with the Greeks of Epiros and Thessaly were engaged in a struggle against the restored Byzantine Empire of the Palaiologoi. It is striking how loyal the local Greeks remained to the Villehardouin in the face of the Byzantine reconquest. They regarded the incoming Byzantines as far more alien than their Frankish masters. It was a time too when the social and legal divisions separating Greek and Latin were beginning to relax. Making an important contribution to this state of affairs were the numerous Greek *archontes* from Constantinople, who in

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64 Chryssa Maltezou, 'Le famiglie degli Eudaimonoiannis e Venier a Cerigo dal XII al XIV secolo. Problemi di cronologia e prosopografia', *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*, 2 (1982): pp. 208–10. See now Gillian Ince and Andrew Ballantyne, *Paliochora on Kythera*, BAR International Series, 1704 (Oxford, 2007), pp. 5–6.

65 Magdalino, 'Between Romaniae', pp. 88–92.

1261 preferred to seek refuge among the Franks of the Peloponnese, rather than trust Michael Palaiologos.[66]

Marriage alliances between Greek, Slav and Latin ruling families formed part of Henry of Hainault's strategy for establishing the Latin Empire as a going concern and offered real opportunities, but these were then passed over. They were part of a political rather than a social process. Indicative of the social gulf between Latin and Greek was nomenclature. When a Latin bride married into a Greek family, she was expected to change her Christian name for an appropriate Greek one. Otherwise Latins almost never took Greek baptismal names. There are only two examples I can think of: Boniface of Montferrat called his son by Margaret of Hungary Demetrios with the obvious intention of appealing to the people of Thessalonike,[67] and Maio of Kephalonia called his eldest son Theodore in honour of his brother-in-law Theodore Doukas.[68] Greeks were even more averse to taking Latin names.

Paradoxically, the occasional examples from the thirteenth century of members of ruling families crossing the lines separating Greek and Latin only reinforce this sense of a gulf between them. The first is that of Theodosios V (1278–83), Orthodox patriarch of Antioch. Thanks to his friend and younger contemporary the historian George Pachymeres, who admired him unreservedly, we are well informed about his career. Pachymeres is adamant that Theodosios was related to the Villehardouin princes of Achaia. Exactly how remains a mystery. The only clue is that Michael VIII Palaiologos gave him the honorific title of uncle.[69] It will be remembered that William of Villehardouin acted as godfather to one of Michael's sons, which technically made William and Michael brothers. On this reading Theodosios would have been some kind of an uncle to William. Could he have been connected with that mysterious bishop of Coron, who is described in 1209 as a nephew of Geoffrey I of Villehardouin?[70] Pachymeres tells us that as

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66 *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, vv.1331–2. See now Gill Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 177–242; Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece*, Oxford Studies in Byzantium, 5 (Oxford, 2009), esp. pp. 220–54.

67 It may be significant that both Villehardouin and Henry of Valenciennes refrain from referring to him by name.

68 Barzos, Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών, vol. 2, p. 669.

69 Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler, II.22: vol. 1, p. 179, lines 5–6. It was Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 529, who identified him with Theodore, son of Maio of Kephalonia. Except for the name – Theodosios can easily be a monastic name for Theodore – there is no basis for this identification, which is made all the more unlikely, because Theodore is known to have succeeded his father as count: Miklosich and Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 5, p. 53. See Kiesewetter, 'Preludio alla quarta crociata?', p. 352.

70 Jean Longnon, *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffroy de Villehardouin* (Paris, 1939), pp. 27 and 207–9.

a young man Theodosios left his family and became a monk in a monastery on the Black Mountain or Amanus outside Antioch.[71] The Black Mountain is famed for the way it sheltered monasteries of all persuasions during the crusader period. For whatever reason, Theodosios chose to settle in an Orthodox monastery, which also housed the future patriarch Germanos III of Constantinople (1265–66). He must have spent a good many years in this monastery, because when he arrived at the Nicaean court in 1259 or 1260 he is described as an experienced monk. He was soon high in Michael Palaiologos' favour, so much so that he was appointed trustee for the dying patriarch Nikephoros (1260–61).[72] Pachymeres makes it clear that it was his noble origins that commended him to the Byzantine emperor. Can it have been mere coincidence that Theodosios' arrival at the Nicaean court occurred when Michael Palaiologos was holding William of Villehardouin prisoner? The favours showered by the emperor on his prisoner included not only making him sponsor of his son, but also granting him the important office of Grand Domestic, which would have attached the prince to the Palaiologan court in the capacity of commander-in-chief of the Byzantine armies.[73] This can only mean that Michael Palaiologos was working to win the prince of Achaia over to Byzantium. The emperor also tried to draw members of the baronage of Achaia into the Byzantine orbit. For example, he arranged a marriage between Theodora, daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, and Matthew de Walincourt, a Frankish noble from the Peloponnese, who was then resident at the Byzantine court.[74] At exactly this time the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos not only arranged a marriage for his brother Constantine Palaiologos, which created a link with the Toucy family, but also released Anselin de Toucy, who was a brother-in-law of the prince of Achaia. Taken together, these actions reveal how Michael Palaiologos was working for the incorporation of the Frankish principality of Achaia within a Byzantine framework. However, any hope of using peaceful means to turn the principality of Achaia into a dependency of the Byzantine Empire disappeared when in July 1262 Pope Urban IV absolved William of Villehardouin of the pledges that he had made to the Byzantine emperor.[75]

It did not end the favour enjoyed by Theodosios, even if his presence at the Byzantine court initially owed much to his Frankish connections. Michael VIII

[71] Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler, V.24: vol. 2, p. 515, lines 1–2.

[72] Ibid., II.22: vol. 1, pp. 177–9.

[73] *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, vv. 4336–42; Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine–Latin Relations* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), p. 55.

[74] Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler, III,6: vol. 1, p. 243, lines 15–17, and III,17: vol. 1, pp. 275–7. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), pp. 92–3.

[75] Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 156–7.

made him archimandrite of the imperial monastery of Pantokrator.[76] Theodosios' good offices evidently played a part in securing Germanos III's appointment as patriarch in 1265, since it was the new patriarch's time on the Black Mountain that commended him for promotion.[77] In the same year Michael Palaiologos entrusted Theodosios with an important diplomatic mission to the Il-Khan Hülegü with the aim of arranging a marriage alliance.[78] In 1275 he was in the running to succeed Joseph I as patriarch of Constantinople, but then Emperor Michael had doubts about the sincerity of his commitment to the unionist cause. George Pachymeres received the task of sounding him out and gave him a clean bill of health. This cleared him for succession to the throne of Antioch,[79] for which his connections with the monasteries of the Black Mountain suited him. Theodosios resigned the patriarchate in 1283, not sure of how the new anti-unionist regime at Constantinople would treat him. He found refuge in the crusader states.[80]

Though Theodosios' Frankish connections helped to make his remarkable career, George Pachymeres' admiring assessment of his character and piety reveal the depth of his Orthodox faith. His loyalty was to his faith rather than to his family. The same could be said of 'Demeta Palaeologina', who was the abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of St Mary de Verge in the Peloponnese near Methone.[81] It is not possible to establish her identity any more closely, beyond noting that her nunnery preserved the tradition that imperial blood ran through her veins.

Demeta is a Latin version of Demetria, which as far as I know was not a baptismal name used by the Byzantines, but it could serve as a monastic name. Appropriately enough, St Demetrios was a tutelary saint of the Palaiologos family.[82] Be that as it may, when after 1262 Byzantine armies began to devastate the countryside around the nunnery of St Mary de Verge, instead of turning for help from powerful relatives in Constantinople, Demeta Palaeologa preferred to lead her nuns to the safety of Conversano in southern Italy in 1267. When she died in 1271, the Cistercian *visitator* of Achaia, who happened to be the abbot of Daphni, appointed the prioress, Demeta's spiritual daughter Isabelle d'Enghien, as her successor. Isabelle came from a family that was in the next century among the

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76 Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler, III.3: vol. 1, p. 235, lines 10–18, and V.24: vol. 2, p. 515, lines 3–4.

77 Ibid., IV,12: vol. 2, p. 365, lines 12–20.

78 Ibid., III.3: vol. 1, p. 235, lines 10–18.

79 Ibid., VI.5: vol. 2, pp. 555–7.

80 Ibid., VII. 3: vol. 3, p. 25, lines 12–13, and VII.19: vol. 3, p. 67, lines 19–25. See Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 327–9; Erich Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 4 (Vienna, 1980), no. 7181.

81 Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra, sive de episcopis Italiae et insularum adjacentium*, vol. 7 (Venice, 1720), col. 706, 707–8 and 709.

82 Henri Grégoire, 'Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi De vita sua', *Byzantion*, 29–30 (1959–60): §§XI–XII, pp. 461–5.

most prominent in Latin Greece.[83] But in the mid-thirteenth century what mattered was its link to the Brienne counts of Lecce. Demeta Palaeologa's relationship to her successor – even if a spiritual one – reveals her absorption into a network of French noble families, which reinforced her loyalty to her faith. In the same way as the failure of Michael VIII Palaiologos' negotiations with William of Villehardouin, her actions only underlined how wide a chasm still separated Greeks and Latins.

What emerges very clearly from an examination of the marriage strategies adopted under the Latin Empire of Constantinople is the failure of Henry of Hainault's attempt to create a common dynastic framework. It was this as much as anything that ensured that the Latins would be treated in the historical record as alien intruders, but it went deeper than this. It was very largely a failure of Latin Constantinople itself. In April 1204 the crusaders took over a functioning city of nearly half a million inhabitants. It is true that Constantinople had suffered serious devastation resulting from the fires of 1203 and 1204. Against this the two sieges of Constantinople caused relatively little loss of life. While Constantinople remained a great and populous city, as it did under Henry of Hainault, the Latin Empire continued the Byzantine imperial tradition, part of which consisted in the skilful use of marriages for political and diplomatic advantage. As we have seen, this came to an end in the course of the reign of Robert of Courtenay (1221–28), which coincided with the first clear signs of Constantinople's increasingly impoverished condition. The Latin patriarch was reduced to stripping copper and lead from the roofs of its churches. The causes of Constantinople's impoverishment under Latin rule are not hard to find. No longer was the wealth of an empire concentrated within its walls, in the way it had been in the past. Instead, an increasing proportion of rents, revenues, profits and taxes now remained in the provinces, whether in the hands of Frankish lords or Greek aristocrats. As a result, Constantinople could no longer perform its traditional unifying role. Its impoverishment meant that its population simply melted away to seek new opportunities elsewhere.[84] The Latin rulers of Constantinople reckoned that many of its great churches were now surplus to requirements and planned to pull them down, so that they could ease their poverty by selling off precious building materials. We know that the Pilastri Acritani, which now stand beside the south-western corner of St Mark's in Venice, originally came from the church of St Polyeuktos at Constantinople, which was dismantled under the Latins.[85] Only the intervention of the Nicaean emperor John Batatzes saved other famous churches and monasteries from a similar fate;

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[83] William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (London, 1908), pp. 265, 280, 298–9, 319 and 339.

[84] See Michael J. Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003), pp. 135–8 and 148.

[85] Martin Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace Church in Istanbul* (London, 1989), pp. 100, 132 and 143.

these included the church of the Holy Apostles.[86] The corollary of the decline of Latin Constantinople was an increasing reluctance on the part of the Byzantine successor states to tolerate its existence. This was reinforced by a growing anti-Latin sentiment, which was fostered by the Orthodox Church. On occasion it opposed Latin marriages, as Theodore Laskaris learnt to his cost, when he proposed a marriage between his daughter Eudokia and Robert of Courtenay.[87] This is in stark contrast to the respect shown to the Emperor Henry of Hainault, who was remembered by the Greeks as their protector against Latin persecution.[88] While the Latin Empire of Constantinople became moribund, the Frankish territories in Greece had a long history in front of them. Can this be explained, at least in part, by the sudden willingness of members of the Frankish ruling families to intermarry with their Greek counterparts, even if they left it rather late in the day?

[86] George Acropolites, *Opera*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 287, lines 20–28.

[87] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 31, lines 5–9; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, p. 157.

[88] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 28, lines 12–16, and p. 30, lines 12–17; transl. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, pp. 153 and 154–5.

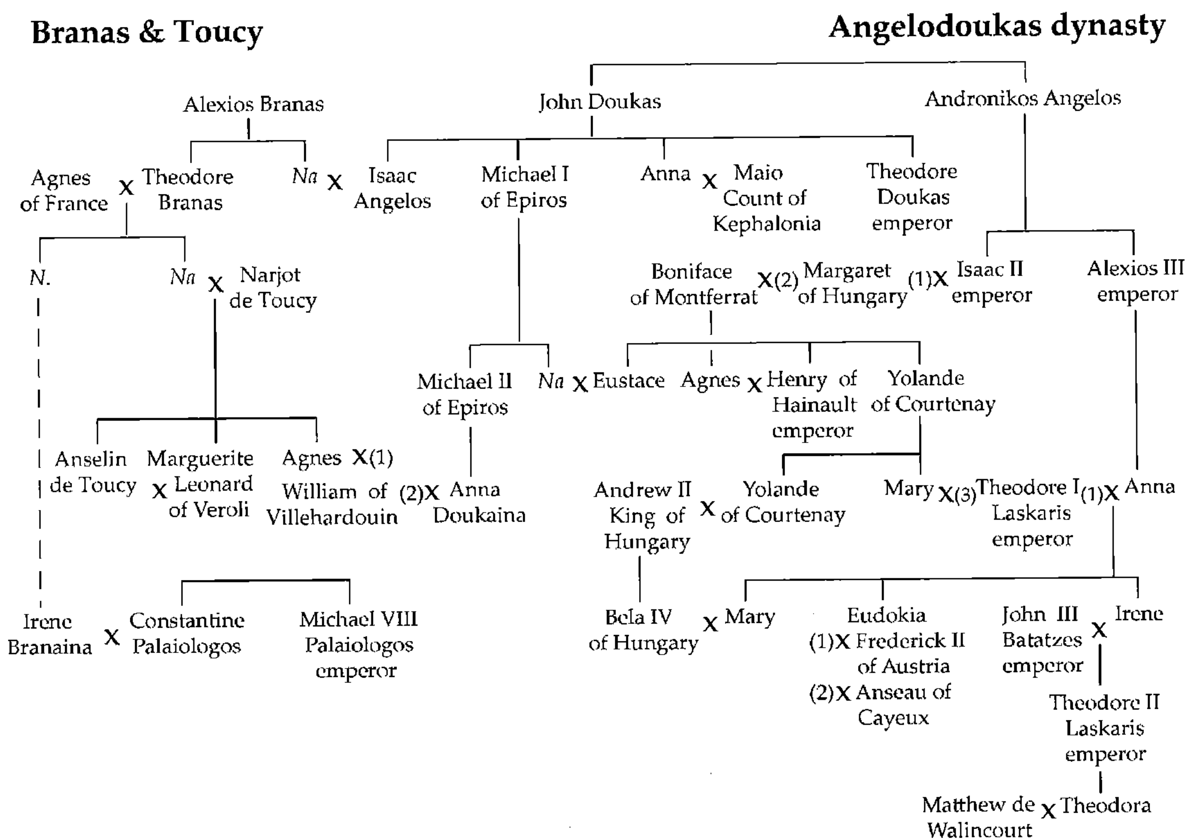


Figure 3.1 Marriage Strategies, 1204–1261: Branas & Toucy and Angelodoukas Dynasty

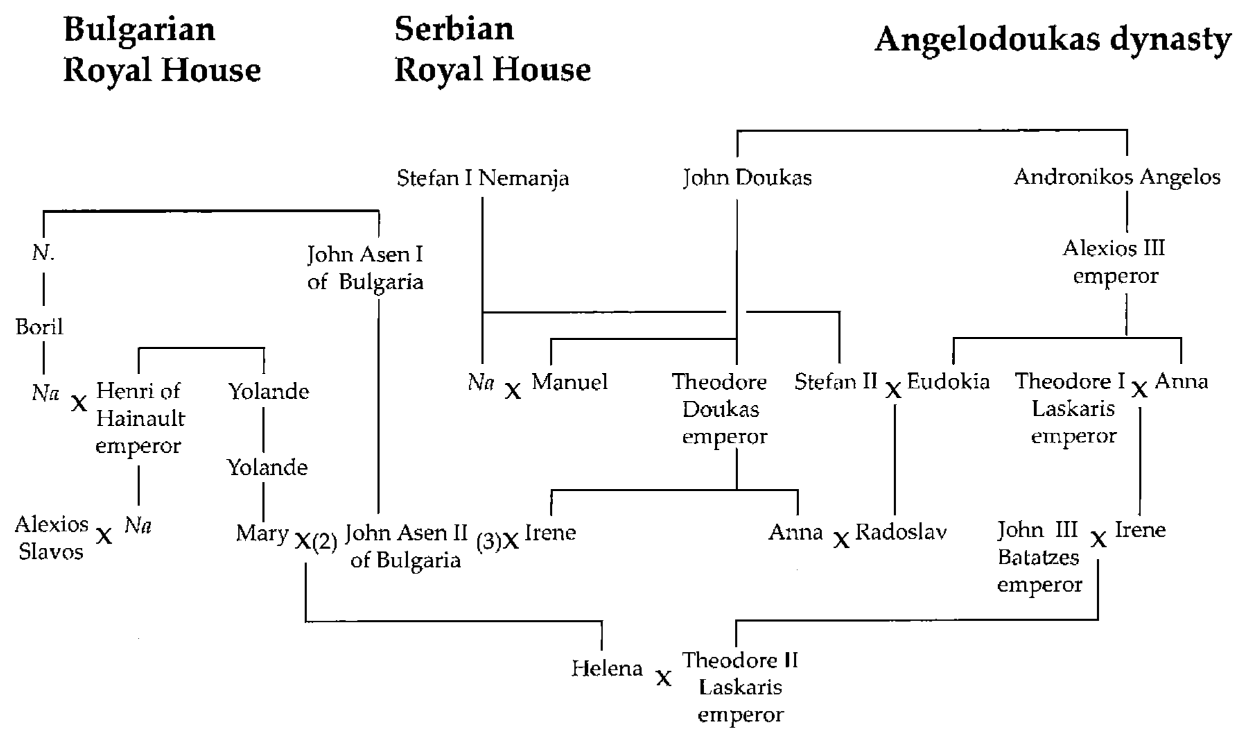


Figure 3.2 Marriage Strategies, 1204–1261: Bulgarian Royal House, Serbian Royal House and Angelodoukas Dynasty

Chapter 4

The Aristocracy and the Empire of Nicaea*

Vincent Puech

The Prosopography of the Byzantine World project addresses the crucial problem of the unity of the Christian eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century. For Byzantium, this unity depended on two factors: recognition of the authority of both state and church, after the fall of the capital city to the Latins. When the patriarchate was reconstituted in Nicaea in 1208, it set up the main religious identity factor in the Byzantine world. It was more difficult for the government of Nicaea to secure its imperial legitimacy. In this contribution I shall investigate how this regime in Nicaea succeeded or failed to establish its internal legitimacy, against the views and claims of areas outside the empire of Nicaea. My perspective will be based on a direct prosopographical approach, looking at aristocratic support for and opposition to the so-called emperors 'of Nicaea'. The Byzantine aristocracy was always led by two complementary principles: the possession of imperial titles and local power. It is crucial to grasp the relationship between these two principles in the thirteenth century, for it allows us to study the phenomena of unity and dissent that characterized the Byzantine world at that time. This in turn permits a test case, analysing the different aristocratic groups that supported the Laskaris dynasty and the Palaiologos family that eventually gained supreme power. The replacement of the former by the latter, which occurred during Nicaea's European expansion, suggests the possibility of multiple allegiances.

The retreat of Theodore Laskaris to Asia Minor in 1204 is difficult to explain with any precision, although we do possess some clues. The Laskaris clan may have had its distant origins in the military world of the East, as the etymology of the name suggests: *laskar* means 'warrior' in Persian.[1] What is more, a seal that certainly belonged to the future Theodore I betrays the links of the family with Asia Minor.[2] Its legend mentions a Theodore Komnenos Laskaris, *sebastos* and

* I am very grateful to Ruth Macrides and Judith Herrin for inviting me to the PBW colloquium, to Judith Herrin and Michael Angold for their advice, and to Tassos Papacostas for translating my paper.

1 Alexander P. Kazhdan and Anthony Cutler, 'Laskaris', in Alexander P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols (New York–Oxford, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 1180–81.

2 Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou, 'Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Διασορίτης auf Siegeln: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Laskariden', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 90 (1997): pp. 416–26.

protobestiarites: the relationship with the Komnenoi and the high status of both dignity and office strongly suggest that the owner was the future emperor. The seal dates from before 1203, the year in which Theodore was made *despotes* by Alexios III Angelos, who also married him to his daughter Anna, thus placing him next in line to the throne. The seal bears on its reverse the image of St George Diasorites, a rarely used epithet. The main cult centre for St George Diasorites was a monastery at Pyrgion in the upper valley of the Kaystros (see Map). It is therefore very likely that Theodore Laskaris maintained some link with Asia Minor before 1203. In 1204 he was acknowledged as military leader (*strategos*) of north-western Asia Minor (Bithynia) by the local population, according to Niketas Choniates.[3] During the same period, however, the city of Nicaea refused to recognize his power.[4] He was not proclaimed emperor until 1205 and not crowned until even later, in 1208, when a new patriarch was finally elected.[5] It is therefore important to investigate how such an accession to power came about.

Theodore Laskaris enjoyed the support of certain members of the Kamateros and Autoreianos clans, two Constantinopolitan families of high-ranking officials. Nevertheless, in the beginning he faced the hostility of Patriarch John X Kamateros, who moved to Thrace, not to Asia Minor, and refused to join the Laskarids in Nicaea; he resigned from his position in 1206.[6] At the same time Theodore Laskaris enjoyed the backing of the *sebastos* Basil Kamateros, brother-in-law of Alexios III Angelos and *logothetes tou dromou* under the same emperor. A letter of Michael Choniates to Basil shows the influence the latter exerted in the election of Patriarch Michael IV Autoreianos.[7] The Autoreianoi and Kamateroi were related through links of kinship. According to the anonymous encomium of the future Patriarch Arsenios, the latter's father was Alexios Autoreianos, *krites tou belou* at Constantinople, while his mother was a certain Irene Kamaterissa.[8] The two families were clearly allied and this alliance was put at the disposal of the Laskarids. According to Akropolites, in 1208 'Michael Autoreianos was elected patriarch … He crowned the *despotes* Theodore with the imperial diadem'.[9] Finally Theodore Laskaris was backed in his defence of Bithynia by his brother Constantine, who

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3 *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et epistulae*, ed. I.A. van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin–New York, 1972), vol. 1, p. 134.

4 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1903), vol. 1, p. 10.

5 Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261* (Oxford, 1974), p. 13.

6 Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), pp. 135 and 470.

7 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou (Berlin, 2001), pp. 208–11.

8 Panagiotes Nikolopoulos, 'Ἀνέκδοτος λόγος εἰς Ἀρσένιον Αὐτωρειανὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως', *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 45 (1981–82): pp. 406–61.

9 George Akropolites, *The History*, transl. R. Macrides (Oxford, 2007), p. 119.

fought against the Latins at Atramyttion in 1205, and by the same or another of his brothers who fought against them at Lentiana in 1212/1213.[10]

As far as internal affairs are concerned, the main difficulty faced by Theodore Laskaris was the disloyalty of three of the magnates of the theme of Thrakesion. In this case the new emperor received help from another of his brothers, the *sebastokrator* George, which is attested in a record probably relating to 1212, but preserved in a later source.[11] Between the summer of 1205 and the spring of 1206, Theodore Mankaphas was overcome by the Laskarid troops in the region of Philadelphia.[12] According to Niketas Choniates, Theodore Laskaris then secured the allegiance of Smyrna and Ephesos. The elimination of Mankaphas allowed him to reach the upper valley of the Meander, where the *kaisar* Manuel Maurozomes was established. Maurozomes secured Turkish troops from his father-in-law, the Seljuk sultan, but was also subdued in late 1205 by Laskaris, who then negotiated a compromise: Maurozomes was to maintain his rule over Chonai and Laodikeia. At the end of 1205 Sabbas Asidenos, ruler in the region of Priene, was defeated in the lower Meander valley.[13] Among the three vanquished dynasts he is the one who best preserved his power, for he is attested in 1214 as *sebastokrator*, allied to the imperial family.[14] In his struggle against the three rebels Theodore Laskaris received considerable support from the aristocracy of the lower Meander valley.[15] This group of dignitaries is well documented in the cartulary of Patmos, its most representative example being the *protobestiarios* George Eunouchos, a great landowner recorded between 1207 and 1213.[16]

The question of who would succeed Theodore I Laskaris was marked by a sequence of missed opportunities. His natural heir would have been his son Nicholas, who died young.[17] The emperor was no luckier with the husband of his eldest daughter Irene, the *despotes* Palaiologos, who also died before him.[18] Irene's second marriage to John Batatzes created a third option for the succession. Theodore I certainly did not envisage this course, for he avoided promoting

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10 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, p. 29.

11 Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1860–90), vol. 4, pp. 35–8.

12 Jean-Claude Cheynet, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182–1206', in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris, 1984), pp. 39–54.

13 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, p. 12.

14 Jean Darrouzès and Nigel Wilson, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xèrochoraphion', *Revue des études byzantines*, 26 (1968): pp. 5–47.

15 Miklosich and Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 4, pp. 35–8.

16 Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 151–65.

17 Vitalien Laurent, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. 4, *Les regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), pp. 6–8.

18 Jean-François Vannier, 'Les premiers Paléologues. Étude généalogique et prosopographique', in Jean-Claude Cheynet and Jean-François Vannier, *Études prosopographiques* (Paris, 1986), pp. 123–88.

Batatzes to the dignity of *despotes*; instead, he kept him at the much lower rank of *protobestiarites*. Nevertheless, the conclusion of this marriage alliance and John Batatzes' accession to power testify to his influence in the new empire of Nicaea, which was very likely connected with his status within the theme of Thrakesion. It is almost certain that John was the son of Basil Batatzes, *domestikos* of the East and *doux* of Thrakesion under Isaac II Angelos.[19] Basil had succeeded in expelling Mankaphas from Philadelphia, the first time by bribing most of his supporters.[20] An earlier John Batatzes, *megas domestikos* and *doux* of Thrakesion under Manuel I Komnenos, had defended the area against the Turks and distributed his booty among the inhabitants of Philadelphia.[21] In short, the Batatzes clan offered the Nicaean emperors a crucial means of controlling Philadelphia, capital of the theme of Thrakesion.

Not surprisingly, the accession to power of John III Batatzes provoked the hostility of the Laskaris clan and of its closest allies. The two brothers of Theodore I, the *sebastokratores* Alexios and Isaac Laskaris, went over to Latin territory, but were defeated (together with a Latin contingent) by John III at Poimanenon and were subsequently blinded.[22] The revolt was prolonged into 1225 by a conspiracy of Laskarid supporters.[23] This campaign was centred on the town of Achyraous in Mysia, near the Nicaean cradle of the dynasty. The rebellion was led by the brothers Andronikos and Isaac Nestongos, cousins of the emperor. They were joined by one of the Tarchaneiotes, a family probably already linked to theirs.[24] Another conspirator was Synadenos, whose family had been in the service of David Komnenos in Paphlagonia in 1204.[25] Although the Synadenos of that earlier rebellion had been defeated by Theodore I, this incident reveals the establishment of the clan in northern Asia Minor. Another conspirator, Makrenos, was accused of planning to murder John III; together with Isaac Nestongos he was blinded and had his hand amputated.

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19 Demetrios Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), no. 72. Alluding to a projected marriage between Michael Palaiologos and a daughter of Theodore II who was the latter's second cousin, Akropolites seems to imply that John III himself married the daughter of his own second cousin (*Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, p. 100). Indeed, John Batatzes' wife, Irene Laskarina, was the granddaughter of Alexios III, who was also the cousin of Basil Batatzes' wife: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I.A. van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin–New York, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 400 and 435.

20 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 400.

21 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, p. 113.

22 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, pp. 31–5.

23 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 36–7.

24 August Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (London, 1973), p. 11. A daughter from a first marriage of the *megas domestikos* Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes was married to a Nestongos.

25 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol. 1, p. 626.

The dependence of the Laskarids on northern Asia Minor is also obvious in the ideological and political role of the *porphyrogennetos* Theodore, the future emperor Theodore II, son of John III. He is the author of an encomium of Nicaea, written towards the very end of his father's reign, probably between early 1252 and 1254 and certainly before November 1254.[26] It is well known that from the beginning of the reign of John III the permanent capital of the empire was at Nymphaion near Smyrna; Nicaea was only the seat of the patriarchate. Nevertheless, the Bithynian capital is presented by Theodore as the seat of imperial power. This ideological choice fits perfectly into the political role assumed by Theodore towards the end of his father's reign. In 1241 and then again in 1246, during the military campaigns of John III in the Balkans, the *porphyrogennetos* was entrusted with the administration of the East.[27] The episode of 1241 is relatively well documented by Akropolites: at that time Theodore was staying in the region of Pegai and was assisted by the monk John Mouzalon, a former *mystikos*. Interestingly, if we are to trust Pachymeres, the Mouzalon clan hailed from Atramyttion;[28] this local origin was therefore helpful for Theodore. In addition, a Mouzalon was governor of the city of Nicaea in around 1227; it is possible, although not certain, that he is identical with John Mouzalon.[29]

Prosopography allows a reassessment of the importance of the Mouzalon clan: its members were not the newcomers described in the anti-Laskarid sources. It is true that until the reign of Theodore II the Mouzalones were not related to the emperor; this explains why Pachymeres denies them 'good birth' (*eugeneia*). But one has to remember that in the eleventh century George Mouzalon was *patrikios* and *symponos*.[30] Under Manuel I Komnenos Nicholas Mouzalon ascended the patriarchal throne.[31] Thus the family belonged to a layer of the aristocracy just below the nexus of clans with kinship links to the emperor. To return to the entourage of the *porphyrogennetos* Theodore, we know that the brothers George and Andronikos Mouzalon were appointed attendants (*paidopouloi*) to the heir of the throne. At the end of the reign of John III they received titles: George was

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26 Laurence Delobette, 'Oublier Constantinople? L'*Éloge de Nicée* par Théodore II Lascaris', in *Les villes capitales au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2006), pp. 349–72.

27 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, pp. 67 and 71. For the date of 1241 see George Akropolites, *The History*, transl. Macrides, p. 216.

28 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler and transl. V. Laurent, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), vol. 1, p. 41.

29 This identification is suggested by Joseph Munitiz: *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive curriculum vitae*, ed. J. Munitiz (Turnhout–Leuven, 1984), pp. 59–60.

30 Unpublished seals of Dumbarton Oaks: DO 55. 1. 3197 and 3198. I thank Jean-Claude Cheynet for providing me with these documents.

31 Venance Grumel and Jean Darrouzès, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les actes des patriarches*, vols 2–3, *Les regestes de 715 à 1206* (Paris, 1989), pp. 486–90.

made *megas domestikos* and Andronikos *protobestiarites*.[32] Thanks to the study of his abundant correspondence the description of Theodore's entourage may be extended from letters dating both before and after his accession to power. His secretary was Konstas Hagiotheodorites, who was married to a sister of George Mouzalon.[33] A Kammytzes, a member of a family owning estates in the Meander valley,[34] was a friend of both Theodore and George Mouzalon.[35] Finally the *porphyrogennetos* corresponded with Andronikos, metropolitan of Sardis and a native of Paphlagonia,[36] and with Phokas, metropolitan of Philadelphia.[37]

Across the Bosporos the capitulation of the European provinces to John III Batatzes was secured to a large extent thanks to the local aristocracy that had exerted power there before 1204. The first case concerns Thrace and more precisely the town of Tzouroulos, captured by John III in 1235–36, then recaptured by the Latins in 1239–40. During the two campaigns the Nicaean army was led by representatives of families established in Thrace since the eleventh century, Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes[38] and John Petraliphas[39] respectively. The second case has to do with the military campaigns of 1241 and 1246 that led to the submission of Thessalonike to John III.[40] The chief architect of this success was the *megas domestikos* Andronikos Palaiologos. Akropolites clearly states that Andronikos advised the emperor to conduct a European offensive while other dignitaries were against the proposal.[41] Now since the twelfth century the Palaiologoi had been associated with the administration of Macedonia, and in particular of Thessalonike, its capital. An earlier Andronikos Palaiologos was *doux* of the city in *c.*1112,[42] while another had been among the city's defenders against the Normans in 1185.[43] In 1246 Andronikos Palaiologos was the first governor of Thessalonike under John III. His son, the future Michael VIII, was assigned the command of Melnik, Serres and the surrounding region, according to Akropolites.[44] To put it simply, John III entrusted Macedonia to the Palaiologoi. In the Macedonian campaigns of the 1240s we also find Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes and John Petraliphas, who had also been present in Thrace in the 1230s. They were accompanied by the *mesazon* Demetrios Tornikes

32 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, p. 124.

33 *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), pp. 37, 97, 98 and 267.

34 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, pp. 241–2.

35 *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae*, ed. Festa, p. 222.

36 Ibid., pp. 24, 165 and 172–6.

37 Ibid., pp. 162–5.

38 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, pp. 55–6.

39 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 58.

40 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 66.

41 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 73–4.

42 Vannier, 'Les premiers Paléologues', p. 147.

43 Ibid., p. 164.

44 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, pp. 83–4.

and the *protobestiarios* Alexios Raoul, both members of families established in Thrace from the eleventh and twelfth century respectively.[45]

From now on the decisive role of this European aristocracy posed a political threat to the Nicaean regime. Between 1246 and 1253 Michael Palaiologos, the future emperor, proceeded to multiply his intrigues on western soil. There are two contradictory testimonies about the scope of his actions: that of Akropolites, a chronicler loyal to the Palaiologan dynasty, and that of the more critical Pachymeres. Akropolites notes a project of marriage between Michael Palaiologos and the daughter of the Bulgarian tsar Kaliman I.[46] It is in fact possible that in this way the Palaiologoi attempted to redress the balance following the marriage between the *porphyrogennetos* Theodore and the daughter of JohnAsen II.[47] But such a Bulgarian alliance would have turned Michael Palaiologos into an emperor before his time, which is exactly Akropolites' point. The chronicler is probably trying to conceal a more scandalous intention, revealed by Pachymeres whose account appears more reliable.[48] This historian mentions a secret pact concluded with Michael Angelos of Epiros, according to which the *despotes* would give his daughter in marriage to Palaiologos, who would surrender the western territories ruled by John III to Michael Angelos and would share power with him.[49] In any case Michael Palaiologos was incarcerated in autumn 1253 for about a year.[50] He was only set free in order to be transferred to the administration of Bithynia, far away from suspect territory and under the control of the Laskarids.

The first year of the reign of Theodore II in 1255 witnessed a vast conspiracy orchestrated by the European aristocracy.[51] Two officials were blinded on imperial orders, Theodore Philes, governor of Thessalonike, and Constantine, son of the governor of Serres; Alexios Strategopoulos was removed from office. Other aristocrats had their titles revoked. In the case of Nikephoros Alyates, *epi tou kanikleiou*, he also had his tongue cut out. Next the *protobestiarios* Alexios Raoul (whose sons were imprisoned), the *megas primmikerios* Constantine Tornikes and the *parakoimomenos* George Zagarommates lost their titles. All four maintained close links with the European provinces. The Alyates clan is well attested in the

45 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, pp. 220 and 241.

46 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, pp. 93–5.

47 Günter Prinzing, 'Ein Mann *tyrannidos axios*. Zur Darstellung der rebellischen Vergangenheit Michaels VIII Palaiologos', in Ioannis Vassis, Günther S. Heinrich and Diether R. Reinsch (eds), *Lesarten. Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 180–97.

48 See translator's Introduction in George Akropolites, *The History*, transl. Macrides, p. 73.

49 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler and transl. Laurent, vol. 1, p. 37.

50 Albert Failler, 'Chronologie et composition dans l'*Histoire* de Georges Pachymère', *Revue des études byzantines*, 38 (1980): pp. 5–103, here pp. 10–16.

51 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, pp. 154–5.

West in the early thirteenth century: an Alyates was *protobestiarios* of Emperor Theodore Doukas Komnenos Angelos in 1228.[52] Alexios Raoul had been appointed governor of the reconquered territories of Epiros by John III.[53] Constantine Tornikes was a military commander at Serres in Macedonia.[54] George Zagarommates was the husband of Irene Maliasene, herself a member of a powerful family from Thessaly.[55]

At this time of extreme tension between the European aristocracy and Theodore II one may wonder, where were the Palaiologoi? According to Pachymeres, the future emperor was warned by someone from within the imperial palace that he risked being blinded; he was thus forced to flee to the Seljuks in the summer of 1256.[56] His uncle and namesake, the *megas chartoularios* Michael Palaiologos, was imprisoned, and his brother John Palaiologos was banished to the island of Rhodes.[57] There is therefore no doubt that the entire Palaiologos family was in conflict with Theodore II precisely at the moment of the clash between emperor and western aristocracy. Yet in 1257 the future Michael VIII was set free and appointed governor of Dyrrachion.[58] However, in the same year, during a visit to Thessalonike, he was arrested again for treason.[59] The repeated occurrence of such episodes demonstrates clearly that a deep gap divided the ruling dynasty from a faction led by the Palaiologoi.

For his part, the emperor Theodore II attempted by all means to secure his power in the East, in particular in the Bithynian cradle of the dynasty. Although his patronymic was Batatzes, this name is absent from one of his own writings, the encomium to his father. In this way Theodore II attached himself to the Nicaean roots of the regime. Tryphon, the patron saint of Nicaea, was promoted to protector

52 Nikos Bees and Helene Bees-Seferlis, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 21 (1976): pp. 57–243, here p. 78.

53 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, p. 92.

54 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 114.

55 Marina Loukaki, 'Ein unbekanntes Gebet von Georgios Zagarommates an Johannes Prodromos', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 46 (1996): pp. 243–9. I thank Paul Magdalino for this reference.

56 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler and transl. Laurent, vol. 1, pp. 43–5.

57 Maria Nystazopoulou, 'Γράμμα τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ νομικοῦ τῶν Παλατίων Νικήτα Καραντηνοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου (1256)', in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον*, 4 vols (Athens, 1966), vol. 2, p. 305.

58 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler and transl. Laurent, vol. 1, pp. 45–7.

59 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 47–57.

of the empire and was represented on its coinage.[60] According to the chronicler Skoutariotes the saint had appeared in a dream to the emperor during his European campaign of 1255.[61] More importantly, though, Theodore II relied systematically on the aristocracy of north-western Asia Minor, reinforcing the ties formed during his father's reign. Apart from the case of the Mouzalones, one must realize that the imperial entourage was recruited from among the aristocracy. It is true that many of these individuals did not enter the nexus of clans related to the imperial family until the reign of Theodore II. But the same claim can be made for the party of the Palaiologoi, which was not really promoted until the reign of Michael VIII. Theodore II chose for the patriarchate Arsenios Autoreianos, who possessed two important advantages for the emperor: his family ties and his membership of the Bithynian clergy. On the family front, he hailed from the Autoreianoi and the Kamateroi, on whom Theodore I Laskaris had relied heavily. From the ecclesiastical point of view he maintained close links with the patriarchate of Nicaea and more generally with Bithynia. Under John III an Autoreianos had been deacon of the patriarchate,[62] showing that the family was permanently linked with the ecclesiastical administration in the wake of Michael IV Autoreianos' patriarchate. Moreover, Arsenios spent time in four monasteries of Bithynia or its wider region: Oxeia on the Princes' Islands, Pitharitzia (whose hegoumenos he had been), St Anne at Oxybapheion, and St George at Apollonia.[63]

Among the secular aristocracy the Mouzalon brothers were promoted at court in a spectacular fashion, receiving prestigious wives: in particular the chief minister George Mouzalon, who accumulated the titles of *protosebastos*, *protobestiarios* and *megas stratopedarches*, and married a daughter of John Kantakouzenos and Irene Palaiologina.[64] One may also note the case of the Nestongos clan: the three brothers George, Theodore and Isaac were the chief generals of Theodore II.[65] The *doux* of Thrakesion George Makrenos falls into the same category.[66] It is worth remembering that the Nestongoi and Makrenoi, following the Laskarids, conspired in the early days of the reign of John III. One may therefore conclude that Theodore II relied on the same aristocratic group as the founder of the empire of Nicaea.

The creation of two parties behind the Palaiologoi and the Laskarids respectively thus illuminates the political developments of the year 1258. As we know, George Mouzalon, the regent of the empire appointed by Theodore II before his death, was

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60 Michael Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261* (Washington, DC, 1969), pp. 256–61.

61 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, p. 291.

62 *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia*, ed. Munitiz, p. 55.

63 Nikolopoulos, 'Ἀνέκδοτος λόγος εἰς Ἀρσένιον Αὐτωρειανόν', pp. 454–7.

64 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler and transl. Laurent, vol. 1, p. 41.

65 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, pp. 115, 142 and 151.

66 Miklosich and Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 4, pp. 211 and 247.

assassinated in that year. The murder was carried out at the instigation of victims of the Laskarid regime. Pachymeres describes the divisions among the aristocracy at the time of the appointment of a new regent in great detail.[67] On one side the ambitions of Michael and Manuel, two elderly brothers of Theodore I Laskaris, and of George Nestongos were made manifest. On the other, there were the Tornikioi, the Strategopouloi and Michael Palaiologos. The aristocracy was thus faced with two options. The choice was inextricably linked to the military situation. In view of the threat posed to the western provinces in 1258 by the powerful coalition of the Greek ruler of Epiros, the Frankish prince of Achaia and the king of Sicily, it appeared that the time of the European aristocracy had finally come. Michael Palaiologos took upon himself the role of defender of Thessalonike, claiming that the city was his home and that his father lay buried there:[68] both claims were fabrications, for he had been born in Nicaea where the *last* tomb of Andronikos Palaiologos was also to be found.[69] What is more, he invoked the protection of St Demetrios, allegedly the ancestral patron of the Palaiologoi[70] – an obvious link with the Macedonian capital city. Thus the rise of the future Michael VIII may be explained essentially by the support he received from an aristocracy primarily attached to the defence of the European provinces.

To conclude, the question of the identity and allegiances at work in the empire of Nicaea demonstrates the value of a prosopographical approach. The study of the supporters and opponents of the emperors cannot be carried out without prior knowledge of their careers, their family links and their local power base. Such an approach to the study of the Byzantine aristocracy reveals the significance of investigations covering a longer time-span and the necessity to look at the pre-1204 period in order to understand the thirteenth century. In this respect, the value of *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*'s timeframe from 1180 to 1261 fits well with this renewal of political history. The Byzantine aristocracy is characterized by considerable continuity among those clans that held power, even if new clans readjusted their family ties. On the other hand several cracks within the ruling elites date back to the late Komnenian age and to the period of the Angeloi. The most important is undoubtedly the division between two aristocratic groups focused on the defence of either the East or the West. Paradoxically the empire of Nicaea

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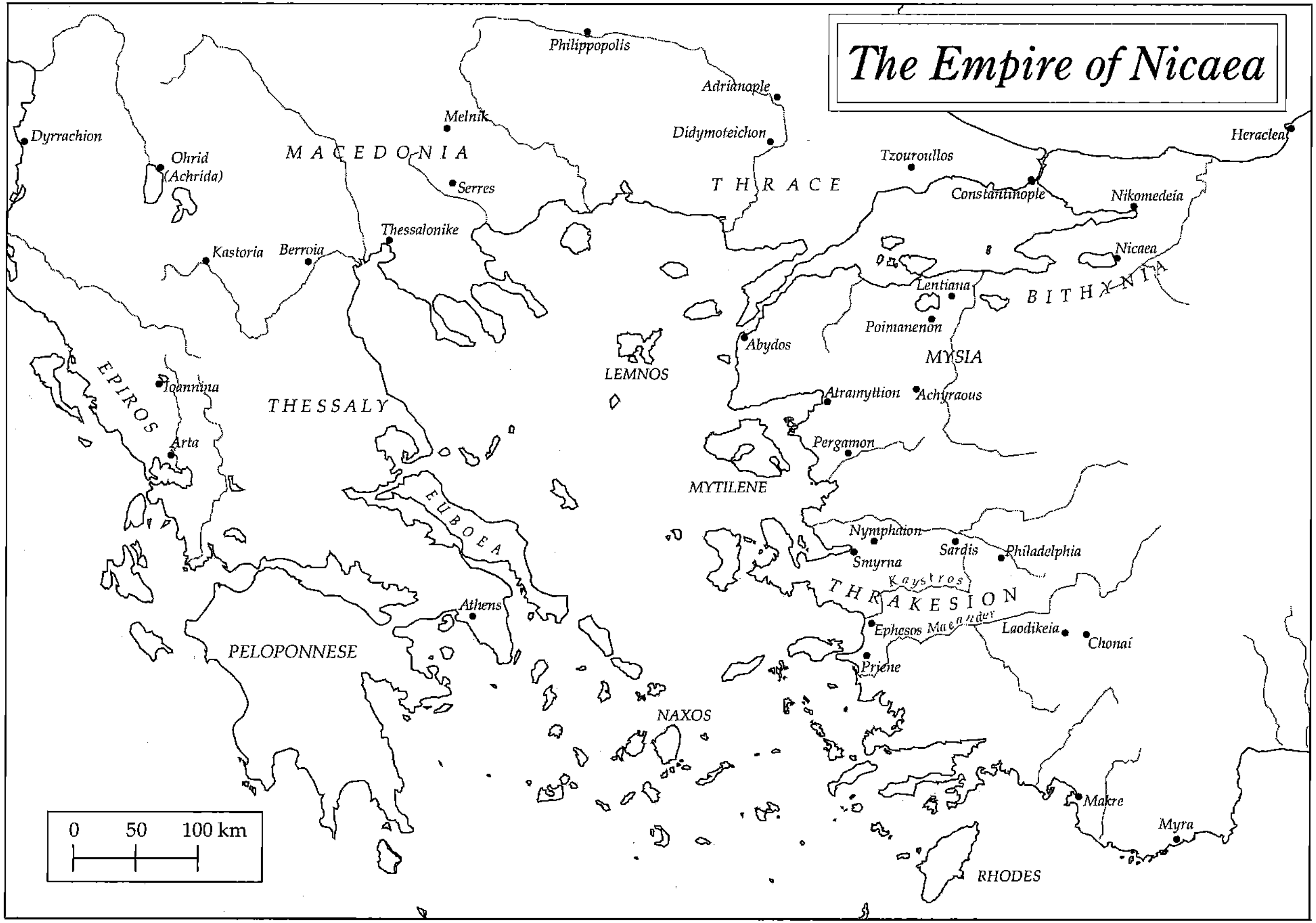
67 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler and transl. Laurent, vol. 1, pp. 91–115.

68 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Heisenberg, vol. 1, p. 158.

69 See Jacob of Ohrid (Bulgaria): *Iacobi Bulgariae archiepiscopi Opuscula*, ed. S.G. Mercati, *Bessarione*, 21 (1917), pp. 73–89 and 208–27, reprinted in Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, *Collectanea Byzantina*, 2 vols (Bari, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 66–98, here pp. 72, 79–80 and 112. However, it is true that Andronikos Palaiologos' *first* tomb was to be found in Thessalonike.

70 *Typikon* of the monastery St Demetrios of the Palaiologoi in Constantinople, in Henri Grégoire, 'Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua', *Byzantion*, 29–30 (1959–60): pp. 447–74.

witnessed the triumph of the European aristocracy led by the Palaiologoi. This is a fact of cardinal significance that helps to explain the ultimate fate of Byzantium.


The Empire of Nicaea
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Melnik
Didymoteichon
Tzouroullos
Heraclea
Dyrrachion
Ohrid
(Achrida)
MACEDONIA
Serres
THRACE
Constantinople
Nikomedeia
Thessalonike
Kastoria
Berroia
Nicaea
BITHYNIA
Lentiana
Poimanenon
Abydos
LEMNOS
MYSIA
EPIROS
Ioannina
THESSALY
Atramyttion
Achyraous
Arta
Pergamon
MYTILENE
EUBOEA
Nymphaion
Sardis
Philadelphia
Smyrna
Kaystros
THRAKESION
Athens
Ephesos
Maeander
Laodikeia
Chonai
PELOPONNESE
Priene
NAXOS
Makre
Myra
0
50
100 km
RHODES

Chapter 5
Epiros 1204–1261: Historical Outline – Sources – Prosopography

Günter Prinzing

The following contribution* is divided into two main parts. The first consists of general observations on the political and ecclesiastical history of Epiros in the years 1204–1261, supplemented by remarks about the sources and prosopographical aspects. The second deals with a previously neglected but highly interesting prosopographical source that is important for two reasons. Firstly, it shows once more that one can never completely rule out the possibility that a new source will be (re-)discovered, even if our relatively limited source material might already appear to have been thoroughly researched. Secondly, a more important reason is its character: it is a short necrology that I chanced upon in *Cod. Cromwell* 11 (Bodleiana), an otherwise well-known manuscript, written and subscribed near Ioannina in 1225. The necrology consists of just a few passages, quoting the names of hitherto completely unknown deceased persons who should be commemorated. Despite the seemingly minor importance of the deceased persons concerned, this source is nevertheless of special interest and value for our prosopographical research on Epiros, as will be explained in more detail below.

General Observations

Historical Frame: Political and Ecclesiastical Aspects

The history of the state of Epiros, which came to form one of the so called successor-states of the former Byzantine Empire, may be divided into the following three phases, 1204–1214, 1215–30 and 1231–61. 'Epiros' was less politically coherent and consistent than the rival states of Nicaea or Trebizond. As a state it developed only slowly after 1204, and several reasons were decisive for its emergence and later stabilization.

During the first phase (1204–1214) the ethnic mixture created political difficulties, because of the confusing rivalry of Latins, Greeks (or to be more correct, Greek-speaking Byzantines) and even Bulgarians in the regions to the

* I would like to thank Judith Herrin for her various thoughtful suggestions and John M. Deasy, Mainz, for the translation of my paper.

west of the Pindos range, where we can observe the onset of a vacuum of power shortly after 1204.

In the agreement to partition the Byzantine Empire (*Partitio Romaniae*), Venice was awarded territories to the west of the Pindos Mountains, but it only took possession of the port of Dyrrachion and the island of Corfu (Kerkyra). This reinforced the power vacuum on the mainland, which was exploited by local and also foreign forces (either individual protagonists or groups) who tried to take advantage of the situation. The fact that local forces were still able, at least in part, to utilize those structures of the state's provincial administration (themes) that had existed prior to 1204, played no small part in this. The basic organization, extent and units of the former provincial administration can be seen from the Byzantine privilege of 1198 for Venice.

A further factor of great importance was the ecclesiastical structure of the territories that later formed the state of Epiros. They were subject to two competing ecclesiastical authorities: on the one hand, they belonged to the patriarchate of Constantinople, which was reconstituted in Nicaea, and its metropolises together with their suffragan bishoprics; on the other hand, they formed part of the autocephalous archbishopric of 'Boulgaria', which had its see in Achrida (Ohrid) and controlled approximately a dozen bishoprics dispersed over the present-day states of Macedonia, Albania, Serbia and Greece. The patriarchal district in the state of Epiros consisted of the metropolises of Dyrrachion, Kerkyra (Corfu), Larissa, Leukas, Naupaktos, Neai Patrai (Neopatras), Philippoi and Thessalonike together with their bishoprics. Thus within Epiros 'patriarchal' church territory coexisted with the archbishopric of Ohrid.

Over this unstable region Michael Doukas, an illegitimate son of the *sebastokrator* John Doukas, gradually emerged as the most successful political actor and the actual founder of the state of Epiros. Before 1204, Michael had gained great administrative experience as *doux* of a theme in Asia Minor. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204 he joined the followers of Boniface of Montferrat, but left them shortly afterwards and went to Epiros, where his father possibly possessed larger estates. After Michael had gained control of Arta, perhaps through a marriage with the daughter of its last Greek–Byzantine governor, he ruled from there, quickly bringing the surrounding regions under his control. He had his position legalized in 1210 through a treaty with the Venetians, under which he became their vassal, as we know from his *promissio* document. But only two or three years later in 1212/13 he succeeded in expelling the Venetians from Dyrrachion and Corfu. Michael was probably even then actively supported by his half-brothers Constantine, Theodore and Manuel, legitimate sons of the *sebastokrator*, as he had already succeeded in bringing Thessaly under his rule (probably with Manuel's particular help). At all events, around 1212, Constantine was entrusted with the administration of the region of Naupaktos that remained his appanage until *c.*1230. And when Michael was murdered late in 1214 Theodore became his successor. Michael never bore a title of his own as ruler and his documents have not survived, but it's clear that he must have issued three, including a *horismos* for the church of

Naupaktos and a *prostagma* (with a silver seal) for Ragusa. Thus he certainly had a rudimentary chancery.

We are far better informed about the development under Theodore Doukas, above all thanks to the records of Metropolitan John Apokaukos of Naupaktos and Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Ohrid.

Theodore extended the state of Epiros further to the east and north-east, and for the most part restored the earlier theme administration in the territory under his rule. At the same time, he stabilized and protected the church, ensuring that it could function by promoting new appointments to fill vacant sees, even without the patriarch's involvement. This also applied to Ohrid, whose archbishop was traditionally appointed by the emperor. Here he acted like an emperor in 1216 when he appointed Chomatenos archbishop on the proposal of John Apokaukos. In the territories occupied by Bulgaria after 1204, which Theodore regained for Epiros, the Ohrid synod ensured that the (Turnovo-)Bulgarian episcopate was replaced by Greek–Byzantine bishops. By analogy, bishoprics that had been wrested from the Latins were newly filled by Ohrid, for instance in the case of the town of Servia (*ta Serbia*).

Like Michael I, Theodore had not previously used any special title, but after he captured Thessalonike at the end of 1224 he had himself proclaimed emperor in 1225/26 and crowned by Chomatenos, the autocephalous archbishop of Ohrid, in May (?) 1227. The (patriarchal) metropolitan of Thessalonike, Constantine Mesopotamites, who should have performed the coronation as it was conducted within his jurisdiction, refused to perform the ceremony and had to go into exile.

As emperor, Theodore claimed the traditional, full imperial title; he was not interested in a regionally limited empire. As a result, of course, Epiros came into a double conflict, politically on account of the openly declared rivalry with the Laskarid rulers in Nicaea, ecclesiastically on account of the coronation performed by Chomatenos that was bound to provoke the ecumenical patriarch Germanos II against him. This ecclesiastical opposition was even more serious because Chomatenos had conducted the coronation on the basis of the decision by a pan-Epirotic synod held in Arta in February 1227, at which representatives of the military as well as of the entire civilian population ('of all Christians there') were also present. The ceremony of coronation (including the unction) thus promptly generated an ecclesiastical schism between Epiros and Nicaea that was only resolved in 1233, three years after the fall of Theodore Doukas.

Theodore ruled from Arta and also (after 1224) from Thessalonike, with a vice-regent representing him in Arta during his absence. He issued his own coins and also imitated earlier Byzantine emperors by awarding the titles of despot and other imperial court dignities. His brothers were named despots and, for an unlimited period, administered the regions of Aitoloakarnania/Naupaktos (Constantine) and Thessaly (Manuel) as appanages. The church leaders Apokaukos, George Bardanes (Corfu) and Chomatenos, to whom we owe the best sources, were completely devoted to him.

After the disaster of Klokotnica (1230), when Emperor Theodore was defeated and captured by the Bulgarian ruler John Asen II, the state of Epiros was essentially limited to the region of Thessalonike ruled by Theodore's brother, Despot Manuel. On account of Bulgarian supremacy in the southern Balkan regions until 1241, Manuel was forced to reach a compromise with Nicaea, which was achieved in 1233 by the ending of the ecclesiastical schism. After that, no archbishop of Ohrid ever performed an imperial coronation again. The imperial title, which Manuel had assumed by acclamation in 1235, was also never confirmed ecclesiastically by a coronation. In 1237, after his return from Bulgaria, the blinded Theodore deposed Manuel and designated his own son John as his successor. He, too, used the title of emperor without being crowned until he was forced to abdicate in 1242 under pressure from John III Batatzes, emperor of Nicaea. John then assumed the title of despot. In 1246, this line of Epirotic rulers of Thessalonike came to an end with Despot Demetrios Doukas, when the city was incorporated into the empire of Nicaea.

However, soon afterwards the rivalry between Epiros and Nicaea was rekindled, as a result of the activities and political ambitions of Michael II, an illegitimate son of Michael I. Starting out from Corfu and spreading over to the mainland from *c.*1232 he began to rule independently in Epiros (with his centre in Arta), supported in this by Geoffrey II of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia. We have charters issued by him for Corfu (1236, 1246) and Ragusa (1237, 1251). A marriage arranged in 1249 between his son Nikephoros and Mary, the daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, emperor of Nicaea, did not take place until 1256, after Michael II accepted the title of despot from Nicaea in 1252. However, shortly after, fighting broke out again on account of Nicaean claims to Dyrrachion and Servia. At the same time Manfred of Sicily began to gain a footing in the coastal area of Epiros and the islands, and Michael II, who had married his daughter Helena to Manfred, allied himself with his son-in-law and Prince William II of Achaia against Nicaea. This compact ended with their defeat at Pelagonia in 1259. The subsequent almost complete occupation of Epiros by Nicaea forced Michael into exile in Kephalonia for a short time. But soon he and his sons managed to regain terrain on the mainland, though he did not succeed in wresting Thessalonike from the Nicaeans. On the contrary, in 1265 Michael had to withdraw behind the Pindos and cede Ioannina to Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. He died some time between September 1266 and August 1267.

Remarks about the Sources

In general the published, written source material consists of records (in Greek and Latin); historiography and chronicles from outside Epiros (in Greek, Latin or Old French); letters, more generally, secular or ecclesiastical correspondence (in Greek and Latin), especially the correspondence of the Byzantine patriarchs (residing in Nicaea) and the leading metropolitans in the state of Epiros, i.e. John Apokaukos of Naupaktos (in office 1200–*c.*1233), Basil Pediadites of Kerkyra/

Corfu (died 1217/18) and his successor George Bardanes (in office 1219–*c.*1240) on the one hand, and the autocephalous archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of 'Bulgaria' (Achrida/Ohrid; in office 1216–*c.*1236), on the other. The collections of correspondence or acts of Apokaukos and Chomatenos include, in addition to letters (often responses), judicial decisions and expert opinions resulting from the dispensation of justice in their ecclesiastical courts. Further sources that could be mentioned are inscriptions (stone, metal, painted) and subscriptions by copyists of manuscripts, lead-seals, and hagiographic texts (in Greek and Old Serbian). The sources are assembled in the basic bibliography about Epiros and its recent supplements: see the bibliographical appendix at the end of this chapter and, of course, the current bibliography of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*

Prosopographical Aspects

Large quantities of prosopographically relevant names and data are to be found in the ecclesiastical, often judicial files, deeds and letters, especially those of Demetrios Chomatenos and John Apokaukos. In this connection assigning the names or persons to Byzantium is not difficult as a rule, provided they occur in the period after 1212. Apokaukos, Chomatenos and their episcopal colleagues were clearly able to differentiate between Byzantines (*Romaioi*), Albanians, Bulgarians (or '*Drougoubitai*'), Latins (see for instance no. 22 of the *Ponemata diaphora* of Chomatenos concerning the relations of Theodore Doukas with – hostile and allied – *archontes* of the Peloponnese) and Serbs. The same applies to persons mentioned in the restricted number of other sources dealing with the history of the state of Epiros. Since chronicles and historiographic works written in Epiros in the period under review are completely lacking, the number of prosopographical relevant data for persons in the service of the rulers of Epiros is relatively restricted. But the data we gain from the sources mentioned are well explored by several articles and books, the most important of which are those by Michael Angold, Alain Ducellier, Božidar Ferjančić, Donald M. Nicol, Demetrios Polemis and Alkmene Stauridou-Zaphraka (see also the Appendix at the end of this chapter).

A Fresh Look at a Prosopographical Source: Codex Cromwell 11 Revisited

The second main part of my chapter concerns a small, until now almost neglected prosopographic primary source from Epiros, contained in the *Codex Cromwell* 11 in the Bodleian Library. The simply illuminated manuscript has been frequently studied because of its historically valuable scribe's note dated 1225. Since the small-

sized parchment manuscript has been described in great detail (hence seemingly completely) by Irmgard Hutter (1977) and Alexander Turyn (1980), it was known that besides the important dated colophon it contained various liturgical texts.[1]

During a stay in Oxford in 2004, I perused the codex in the Bodleian more closely in order to examine the scribe's note, which is so interesting in particular for Epirotic history, in the original. However, I was not expecting anything particularly new from my autopsy of the manuscript, for everything seemed to have already been said. Hence I was all the more surprised to encounter, towards the end of the manuscript, some entries of names made for the purpose of commemorating deceased persons, and thus continuous lines of text (see Figure 5.1). Strangely enough, Hutter and Turyn completely disregarded these entries, despite their otherwise very detailed particulars of the content of the manuscript. Only when I compared their description with the summary of the contents in the old catalogue of the 'Greek manuscripts' in the Bodleian by Henry Coxe (1853) did it transpire that Coxe had referred to these name entries for the first time, even if in a very general manner and quite tersely, since he only quoted the first four names.[2] But Hutter and Turyn did not even mention this list. So what is so special about these names?

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1 Irmgard Hutter, *Corpus der Byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, vol. 1, *Oxford Bodleian Library I*, Denkmäler der Buchkunst, 2 (Stuttgart, 1977), no. 48, pp. 80–81; Alexander Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 17 (Washington, DC, 1980), pp. 7–11. See also Diether R. Reinsch, 'Bemerkungen zu epirotischen Handschriften', in Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe de Gregorio and Marilena Maniaci (eds), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, vol. 1 (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 79–97, with 9 tables. The most recent analysis of the manuscript is by Annaclara Cataldi Palau, 'The Burdett Couts Collection of Greek Manuscripts: Manuscripts from Epirus', *Codices manuscripti*, 54/55 (2006), pp. 31–59 (with 7 figures), here pp. 50–51 (kind reference by Professor Niels Gaul, CEU/Budapest). See also the article by Kostas N. Konstantinides cited below, note 3.

2 Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensionem codicum Graecorum continens* (Oxford, 1853), reprinted as *Bodleian Library. Quarto Catalogues*, vol. 1, *Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 433–4.

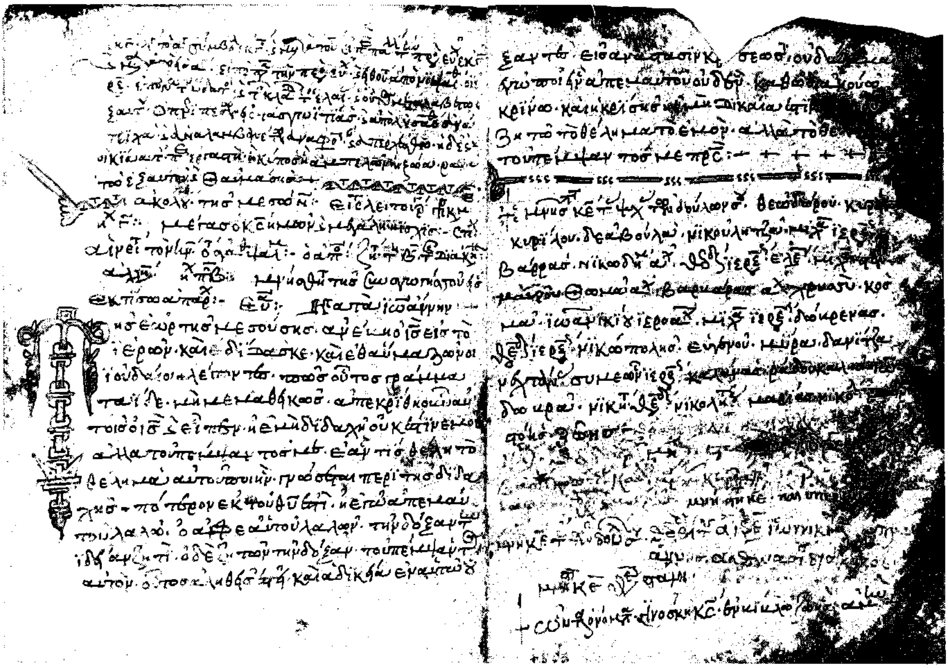


Figure 5.1 Codex Cromwell 11, p. 414–15 (Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

The 9-line core text (= text A), with which I am concerned here,[3] has the following wording (reproduced here 'diplomatically'; the capitalization of the names is mine; names of female persons in the nominative (instead of genitive) are given in bold:

[3] Leaving aside the fragmented, because partly erased, entries (= texts B–E) made below this text (= text A), I shall only give an overview of the variety of legible, complete names (including the details given about the status of a person) to be found there, in the form of a table, see Appendix I. The complete commemorative passage (= texts A–F) has been recently edited, translated and treated in detail by Günter Prinzing, 'Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im *Codex Cromwell* 11', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 101 (2008): pp. 751–72 (with panel 28). As chance would have it, the core text (A) has also nearly simultaneously been edited by Professor Konstantinides (University of Ioannina) in a codicological study of the same manuscript: see Kostas N. Konstantinides, "Ένα χειρόγραφο ἀπὸ τὰ Τζουμέρκα τοῦ ἔτους 1225: *Oxford, Cromwell 11* (μὲ 11 πίνακες)', in *Πρακτικὰ α΄ ἐπιστημονικοῦ συνεδρίου γιὰ τὰ Τζουμέρκα. Ὁ τόπος, ἡ κοινωνία, ὁ πολιτισμός, διαρκεῖες καὶ τομές* (Ioannina, 2008), pp. 213–36, here p. 219 (text), and plates 4 (scribe's notice) and 5 (the picture of the Theotokos). Within the framework of his article Konstantinides (= Konst.) only states (219) that the text is of special interest with reference to the anthroponymes of the region.

> †μνήστ(η)τ(ι) κ(ύρι)ε τ(ὰς) ψυχ(ὰς) τῶν δούλων σου · Θεῶδώρου · Κυράνα · /[2] Κυρίλου · Δεᾶβούλὰ · Νικοῦλητζᾶ· Μιχα(ὴλ) ϊερέ(ως) · /[3] <Βαρ>βάρ{ρ}ας · Νικωδήμ<ου> (μον)αχ(οῦ) · Θεοδ(ώρου) ϊερέ(ως) · Ελέν(ης) · Μιχα(ήλ) · Στάνη ·/[4] Μαύροῦ · Θωμᾶ (μον)αχ(οῦ) · Βαρβάρας (μον)αχ(ῆς)·Χρυσσὺ·Κοσ/[5]μᾶ·Ϊωα(ν)νϊκΐου ϊερο(μον)άχ(ου)·Μιχα(ὴλ) ϊερέ(ως) · Δώβρενας · /[6] Θεοδ(ώρ)<ου> ϊερέ(ως) · Νικώπολῆς · Εὔγενοῦ · Μΰρα · Δανΐτζα · /[7] Νεχτάν(ας) · Συμεῶν(ος) ϊερέ(ως) · Καλάνας · Ράδου · Καλῆς · Ϊω(άννου) · /[8] Δωβρᾶ · Νικήτ(α) · Θε(ο)δ(ώρου) · Νικολητζ(ᾶ) · Μαρίας · Νικόλ<α> · Μαύρου · /[9] Στόης · Ζῶης

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[1] Read Θεοδώρου ‖ [2] Read Κυρίλλου ‖ read Νικούλιτζα. Konst. has νϊκοῦλιτζαῖ, but see below the alpha in Κοσμᾶ ‖ [3] <Βαρ>βάρ{ρ}ας: Having supplemented the first, probably inadvertently omitted syllable, I have deleted the originally blotted omicron that, after striking out, is like a rho. Konst. has βάρράς, but there is no evidence of such a name ‖ read Νικοδήμ<ου> ‖ [4] Read Χρυσῆ ‖ [5] Read Δόβρενας ‖ [6] Read Νικόπολης ‖ [7] Konst. has μεχτάν(ας), but the first letter is clearly a ny ‖ [8] Read Δόβρα ‖ read Νικολίτζ(α). Konst. has νϊκολῆτζ(η). – instead of Νικόλ<α> Konst. has νϊκολ(άου) ‖ [9] Read Ζωῆς.

Here is a translation (N.B.: ‘Fgen.’ or ‘Fnom.’ [+ a name] indicates that the Greek text renders the name of a female person in the genitive or nominative):

> † Remember, O Lord, the souls of Thy servants: Theodore, (Fnom.) **Kyrána,** Cyril, Deaboulás, Nikoúletzas, the priest Michael, Barbara, the monk Nikodemos, the priest Theodore, Helen, Michael, Stánes, Mauros, Thomas, the nun Barbara, (Fnom.) **Chryse**, Kosmas, the priest-monk Ioannikios, the priest Michael, (Fgen.) Dóbrena, the priest Theodore of Nikopolis, (Fnom.) **Eugenoú**, (Fnom.) **Myra**, (Fnom.) **Danitza**, (Fgen.) Nechtana, the priest Symeon, (Fgen.) Kalana, Rados, (Fgen.) Kale, John, (Fgen.) **Dobra**, Niketas, Theodore, Nikoletzas, Maria, Nikolas, Mauros, (Fgen.) Stoe, (Fgen.) Zoe.

Commentary

This core text (and the few partly fragmentary entries that follow; see footnote 3) is on the last page but one (415) of the codex, separated from the preceding content (prayers for the sick) by a decorative strip. On the next page follows the colophon by the scribe, who wrote: ‘The book was written by me, the lector *(anagnostes*) Michael Papadopoulos, son of the priest George, resident in the *Droungos* Tzermernikon, which belongs to the theme of Ioannina. […] It was compiled and subscribed in the 13th indiction of the year 6733 (= 1225), on Friday the 13th of

February, at the fifth hour, in the time of the rule of Theodoros Doukas, when the monk Klemes Monomachos was curator in Arta.'[4]

Preceding the note (in accordance with a conventional form of words for a scribe) is a prayer to Christ and the exalted Mother of God with the request to protect all those 'who glorify Thee with yearning (*tous potho se doxazontas*) and praise (*hymnountas*) Thy Incarnation from a Virgin.' Then follows a sentence on the content of the manuscript, combined with a further request: 'This holy book was written by my hand, the hand of the least among all sinners; an inexperienced scribe, and ye, who read in this book, pray to God for me, the sinner, so that He may have mercy on us now, and for ever more!'[5]

These two sentences allow us to draw some limited conclusions about the circle of users of the codex (more on this below).

To return to the list of names, let us consider the core text more closely: it concerns the commemoration of a total of 39 persons. They are made up of 30 laypersons (15 men and 15 women) and nine ecclesiastical persons (five priests, one priest-monk, two monks, one nun). Their names are to be seen in a table in which they are listed in the order of their appearance (see table in Appendix I). Compared with the 30 secular persons, the nine ecclesiastical persons (monks/nuns and priests), thus just under a quarter, appear considerably smaller in number. The 'group' of the deceased is thus made up of two groups: on the one hand – some three-quarters – of laity, among whom the numerical parity of 15 men to 15 women

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4 See the recent editions (with commentary): Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 8–11, and Euangelos Chrysos, ''Ιστορικὰ στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν Ἤπειρο σὲ σημείωμα τοῦ κώδικα Cromwell 11', *Ἠπειρωτικὰ χρονικά*, 22 (1980): pp. 58–65, here p. 59 (still ignoring Hutter's and Turyn's works), and Konstantinides, ''Ένα χειρόγραφο', pp. 217–18; see most recently Basileios Katsaros, ''Ο Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος καὶ ἡ σχέση του μὲ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴ Ἰωαννίνων κατὰ τὰ τελευταῖα χρόνια τῆς ζωῆς του', in Kostas N. Konstantinides (ed.), *Μεσαιωνική Ήπειρος. Πρακτικά επιστημονικού συμποσίου (Ιωάννινα 17–19 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999)* (Ioannina, 2001), pp. 123–50, here pp. 144–6; Günter Prinzing, 'Nochmals zu den adressierten Briefen des Demetrios Chomatenos', in Sofia Kotzabassi and Giannis Mavromatis (eds), *Realia Byzantina*, Byzantinisches Archiv, 22 (Berlin–New York, 2009), pp. 222–45, here p. 240, n. 69. On the mountainous region of Tzermernikon (later also Tzemernikon, now Tsumerka) south-east of Ioannina see Peter Soustal (with Johannes Koder), *Nikopolis and Kephallenia*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 3 (Vienna, 1981), p. 274, and Prinzing, 'Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft', p. 767 (with n. 21).

5 The wording of both texts quoted here is given according to Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, p. 8: 'ὦ Χ(ριστ)ε σ(ωτη)ρ τοῦ κοσμου φρούρισον καὶ φύλαξον· τοὺς πόθω σὲ δοξάζωντας· καὶ ὑμνοῦντας σου. τὴν ἐκ παρθ(ε)νοῦ σάρκωσιν· ἀμήν' and '† καὶ Ἐγρά(φ)η ιερὰ βίβλο(ς)· αὕτη· δια χειρὸ(ς) ἐμου· του ἐλαχιστοὺ· καὶ ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(οῦ) παρὰ παντας· καὶ χωρικοῦ καλογράφοῦ, και οι ἀναγινοσκωντες ἐν αυτη τη βίβλω. εὔχεσθαι πρὸ(ς) κ(ύριο)ν ὑπὲρ εμου του ἁμαρτολοῦ ὅπως καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεἤση. καὶ ἐν τω νὶν ἀιῶνι καὶ εν τω μέλωντη:' (I have omitted the underscoring of individual letters).

is striking; on the other hand, of the ecclesiastical persons, among whom the five 'secular' priests form a narrow majority over the total of four monastic persons, three monks (including one priest-monk) and one nun.

Now I would like to turn to the names of those commemorated. Certainly their number includes many common Byzantine–Greek personal names, as can be seen from a comparison with the names recorded in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* and other specialized onomastic works. The male ones are Theodore (Theodoros) (×4), Michael (×3), Mauros (×2), and further one time each John (Ioannes), Ioannikios, Kosmas, Cyril (Kyril[l]os), Niketas, Nicholas (Nikolas) and Symeon. However, there are also more uncommon names (or spellings) such as Deaboulas, Nikoletzas, Rados and Stanes. Of these, Deaboulas and Rados are clearly or very probably of Slavonic or Vlach origin. The important point is that Deaboulas and Stanes represent names or name forms that have, if I am correct, never been previously found in Greek–Byzantine sources.[6]

Things look very similar in the case of the women's names: names for which there is often evidence in Byzantium are Barbara (here twice), further once each Chryse, Helene, Kale, Mary (Maria) and Zoe. Among the more uncommon names or ones only recorded here (in bold) are Danitza, Dobra, Dobrena, Eugenoû, Kalana, Kyrana, Nechtana and Stoe.

The very fact that in both 'divisions' (male/female) there are the first appearance of names or forms of names, alone ensures the list an enduring value as a source. Only one name of our text is not a personal name, but a place name: Nikopole (vernacular for Nikopolis).

A brief word on the grammar: logically all the names listed should be in the genitive, but some are clearly in the nominative. This inconsistency is probably to be explained by the fact that the scribe copied the names in the codex from a separate list in which the names of the persons to be commemorated were already also listed in part in alternating form (genitive/nominative). Parallels to this are to be found, for example, in commemorative lists in Slavonic documents from Macedonia.

After looking through the names of the core text treated here (and the names in the few additional sentences mentioned above in footnote 3 and listed in Appendix II) the question arises: What does this list of names mean; why were these deceased

6 In addition to my comment on the name Deaboulas given in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 101 (2008), p. 761, I would like to draw attention to Liudprand of Cremona, who, in his *Antapodosis* V, 22, mentions a commander of a special 'Macedonian' group of the Constantinopolitan palace guard, called 'Diavolinos': his name without doubt derives from the town, fortress and bishopric Diabolis (Devol) north-west of Kastoria, see *Liudprandi Cremonensis Antapodosis, Homelia paschalis, Historia Ottonis, Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Chiesa, Corpus christianorum. Continuatio medievalis, 156 (Turnhout, 1998), p. 136, lines 456 and 475. Here, as generally in book V, chapters 20–25, Liudprand presents information he must have largely obtained from Byzantine oral or even written sources.

persons recorded? Did all these people – none of whom has a prominent title that would place him or her in the higher ranks of society – live in the narrower or wider parish district of the *anagnostes*/lector Michael Papadopoulos in the *Droungos* Tzermernikon of the theme of Ioannina?

Any answer has to be cautious. They probably lived nearby: the only noticeable hint is the reference, in the case of the priest Theodoros, to his origin – 'Nikopoles' refers probably to the theme of Nikopolis. The city was certainly no longer inhabited in the thirteenth century because it had long since been supplanted by Arta.

What relationship did the persons named have to the lector (and scribe) Papadopoulos? To what period do the entries refer? Simply no answer is possible to either of these questions for lack of suitable references.

The word 'group' used above served in the first instance solely to account for the names listed together in some way, because I did not intend thus, without any proof, to say that their owners belonged to some special group during their lifetimes. For example, it would be conceivable that the scribe Papadopoulos recorded only the names of deceased persons from the circle of his 'parish' in the mainly liturgically oriented book from the time of its origin. But precisely such an explanation would remain unsatisfactory, because there are also monks and nuns included who would normally form a liturgical community in their monastery or convent. There could (should) thus have been some special reason for the compilation of such a list including laypersons as well as clerics, monks and nuns.

Precisely this combination is what now gives rise to the idea that we could indeed possibly be dealing here with the commemoration of the deceased members of a certain group. I am thinking of a previously unknown religious confraternity comprising the laity and clergy; thus a group that could have corresponded on a small scale (and probably only partially) to the well-known Theban confraternity from the eleventh century.[7]

If this was the case, then one could further conclude, on the one hand, that it was probably also this unknown confraternity that raised the money for financing the codex. Its content seems to be conspicuously aligned towards the needs of a confraternity concerned, among other things, with celebrating various liturgies, but also with caring for the sick.

On the other hand, provided this confraternity did exist, one could assume that the lector Papadopoulos was referring specially, even if only indirectly, to the members of this confraternity in the phrases cited from the colophon (that is in the prayer quoted and in the passage on the content of the codex). And finally it could be presumed that the postulated confraternity was precisely that group that had undertaken to dedicate itself wholly and entirely to the cultivation of the liturgical veneration of the icon of the *Theotokos Eleousa* reproduced at the beginning of the manuscript (fol. 1a). One might recall the veneration of the *Naupaktetissa* by

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7 Its statutes were published by John Nesbitt and Jan Wiita, 'A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 68 (1975): pp. 360–84.

the Theban confraternity and the confraternities that dedicated themselves to the *Hodegetria* cult in Thessalonike around 1185 and in late Constantinople.

The illustration in the manuscript is badly damaged. It bears the legend: M(HT)HP Θ(E)OY H EΛE(OYΣA). I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C. In none of the known codices from Epiros is such an icon-like miniature of the Virgin Mary to be found at the beginning of the manuscript; thus it is a striking special feature of the codex. Hence the existence and also the placing of this icon miniature in the manuscript appear to me to be a further piece of evidence that the codex could be ascribed to a confraternity that was dedicated to the cult of the Theotokos Eleousa.

In view of the extreme scarcity of surviving records of the confraternities, which will certainly have existed to a greater extent than is generally recognized from the sources, all signs and references to the possible existence of a confraternity should be carefully registered. Seen thus, our quarter-page list of names in *Cod. Cromwell* 11 of 1225 would be, in a certain sense, an exciting source, as it potentially proves the existence of a further Byzantine confraternity, this time in the mountainous hinterland of Ioannina around 1220/25. Apparently, it was rather simple, including otherwise socially inconspicuous people on the lay side and a few priests, monks (or priest-monks) and nuns on the clergy side. Be this as it may: at all events, it is a notable source for prosopography from below!

Appendix I
Names of persons to be commemorated as listed in text A

number	laypersons (male)	laypersons (female)	monachos	monache	hiero-monachos	hiereus
01	Theodoros					
02		Kyrana				
03	Kyrillos					
04	Deaboulas					
05	Nikouletzas					
06						Michael
07		Barbara				
08			Nikodemos			
09						Theodoros
10		Helene				
11	Michael					
12	Stanes					
13	Mauros					
14			Thomas			
15				Barbara		
16		Chryse				
17	Kosmas					
18					Ioannikios	
19						Michael
20		Dobrena				
21						Theodoros from Nikopole
22		Eugenou				
23		Myra				
24		Danitza				
25		Nechtana				
26						Symeon
27		Kalana				
28	Rados					
29		Kale				
30	Ioannes					
31		Dobra				
32	Niketas					
33	Theodoros					
34	Nikoletzas					
35		Maria				

number	laypersons (male)	laypersons (female)	monachos	monache	hiero-monachos	hiereus
36	Nikolas					
37	Mauros					
38		Stoe				
39		Zoe				
Total 39	**15**	**15**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**5**

Appendix II
Readable names of persons to be commemorated as listed in texts B–E

laypersons (male)	laypersons (female)	monachos	hieromonachos	hiereus	diakonos
Theodoros	Kale	Ioannikios	Theodoretos	N.N.	Athanasios
Phloros	Kositza				
Michael	Maria				
Theodoros	Kyrana				
Michael	Maria				
Basileios	Georgia				
Michael	(Eupraxia?)				
Stanes	Anna				

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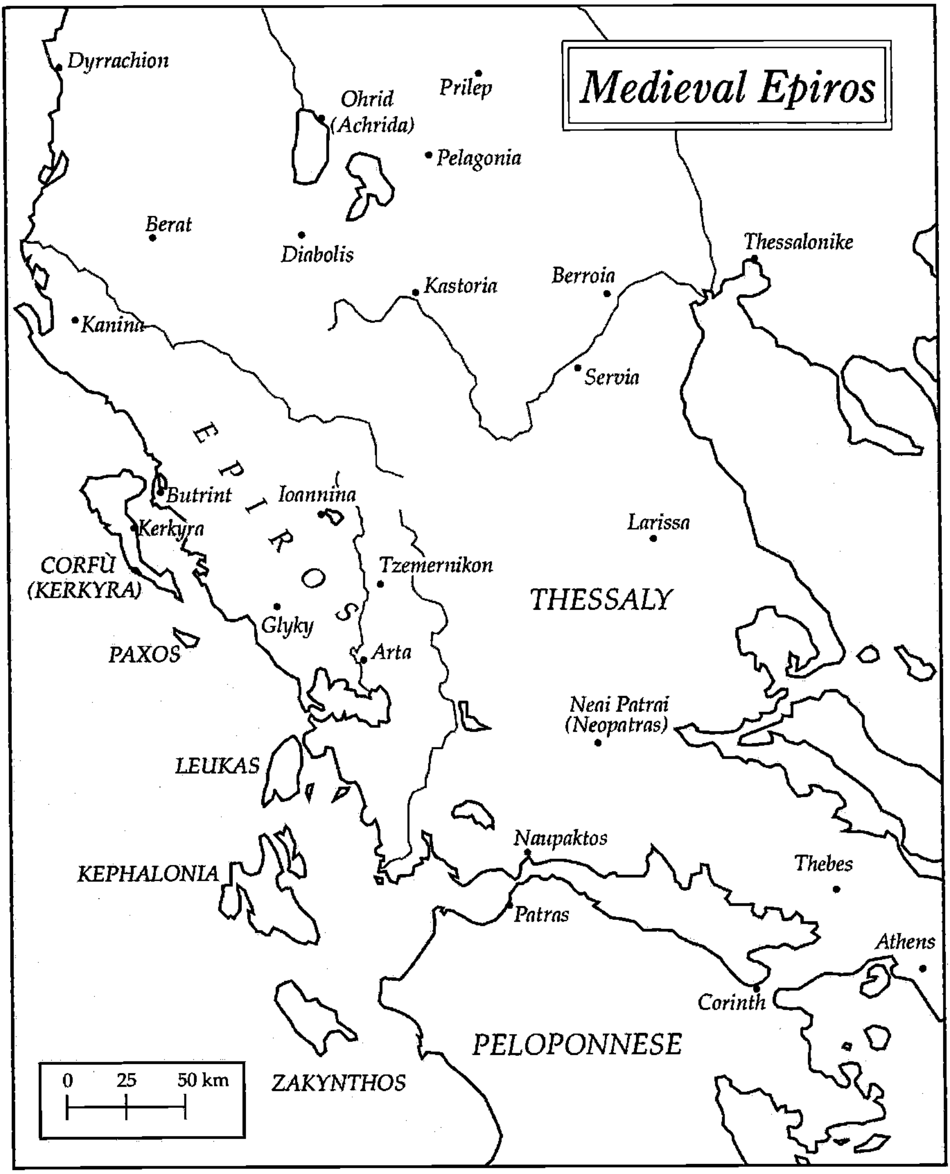
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Medieval Epiros
Dyrrachion
Ohrid
(Achrida)
Prilep
Pelagonia
Berat
Diabolis
Kastoria
Berroia
Thessalonike
Kanina
Servia
EPIROS
Butrint
Ioannina
Kerkyra
CORFÙ
(KERKYRA)
Tzemernikon
Larissa
THESSALY
Glyky
Arta
PAXOS
Neai Patrai
(Neopatras)
LEUKAS
Naupaktos
Thebes
KEPHALONIA
Patras
Athens
Corinth
PELOPONNESE
0
25
50 km
ZAKYNTHOS

Chapter 6

Prosopography of the Byzantine World (1204–1261) in the Light of Bulgarian Sources

Dimiter G. Angelov

Bulgarian documentary and literary sources are considerably less in quantity than the rich Greek and Latin material dating to the period 1204–1261. Nevertheless these sources are capable of making a valuable contribution to prosopography. My goal here is to classify the written evidence from Bulgaria and trace some of its features and particular utility for prosopography. Also of interest is the Bulgarian perspective on the two main successor states to the Byzantine imperial tradition after 1204, the empires of Nicaea and Epiros, and on Byzantine civilization in general.[1] Finally, it is relevant to the task at hand to highlight one of the main challenges that the prosopography of the Byzantine world (1204–1261) would encounter in establishing the profile of individuals mentioned in the Bulgarian sources: the differentiation between Greek (Byzantine) and Bulgarian ethnic identity.

The term 'Bulgarian sources' is used here in reference to provenance rather than language: that is, it refers to texts originating from the Bulgarian kingdom (or more correctly 'tsardom') of the Asens with its capital at Turnovo and adjacent kindred lordships that seceded from the Asenids in the thirteenth century. Language is normally a good criterion for establishing Bulgarian provenance. Most of the texts in question were composed – and survive in copies – in middle Bulgarian, a language close to and derived from Old Church Slavonic.[2] Yet language is not an absolute indicator and could (and sometimes should) be overridden by other considerations. One such consideration is the survival of texts originating from thirteenth-century Bulgaria in copies in other languages. For example, the correspondence of Tsar Kaloyan with Pope Innocent III is known to us in Latin from the Vatican archives. Apocryphal texts produced in thirteenth-century Bulgaria have come down in old Serbian recensions.[3] Another consideration against the deterministic use of language as an indicator of provenance is the phenomenon

[1] The third state, Trebizond, was geographically too removed to attract notice in thirteenth-century Bulgaria.

[2] Kiril Mirchev, *Istoricheska gramatika na bŭlgarskiia ezik* (Sofia, 1958), pp. 54–8.

[3] See below, notes 46 and 47.

of Greek–Slavic bilingualism, which characterized geographical areas and social circles of close contact between the Greek and Bulgarian language communities. In the early thirteenth century, for example, it is known that Greek and Slavonic were used in church services in areas of mixed population, such as Macedonia.[4] Greek was an official language in the chancery of Despot Alexios Slav, a close blood relative of the Asens and the master of an autonomous principality in north-eastern Macedonia during the early thirteenth century. For most of its existence Alexios Slav's lordship was centred on the town of Melnik (Melenikon), whose mixed population of Bulgarians and Greeks is well attested.[5]

Tracing the history of Bulgaria's political ascendancy in the Balkans in the early thirteenth century helps to identify the territorial provenance of our sources. The thirteenth-century Bulgarian kingdom, which is known also as the Second Bulgarian Empire, emerged as the result of the separatist rebellion led in 1185–86 by the brothers Peter and Asen (r. 1186–96), the founders of the Asenid dynasty.[6] Tsars Peter, Asen, and their third brother, Kaloyan (r. 1197–1207), forged an enduring political formation centred on the fortified royal city of Turnovo. The years 1204–1261 saw two waves of Bulgarian territorial expansion followed by periods of contraction and fragmentation.

First Phase: 1204–1207

The first phase coincides with later years of Tsar Kaloyan's reign.[7] Kaloyan took advantage of the Fourth Crusade by annexing large territories south of the Balkan Mountains from the decapitated empire. In 1203–1206 Kaloyan extended his realm deeply into the geographical area of Macedonia, taking over Skopje, Ohrid, Serres, Berroia, and other towns.[8] In 1205 a Cuman general under Kaloyan's command

[4] Thus, in 1216 or 1217 the synod of the archbishop of Ohrid Demetrios Chomatenos deposed the Bulgarian bishops (*boulgaroepiskopoi*) in his large diocese who had been ordained illegally in Turnovo during Tsar Kaloyan's domination over the area, but left the parish priests ordained by the *boulgaroepiskopoi* to continue to officiate locally. Elsewhere Chomatenos noted that 'all the holy scriptures and the lives of the saints were translated from our books into their language'. See *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing (Berlin, 2002), no. 146, pp. 423–8, and no. 8, p. 50, lines 97–9.

[5] See below, note 13.

[6] Ivan Dujčev, *Der Aufstand von 1185 und die Entstehung des zweiten bulgarischen Staates* (Sofia, 1985); Robert L. Wolff, 'The "Second Bulgarian Empire": Its Origin and History to 1204', *Speculum*, 24 (1949): pp. 167–206; Ivan Bozhilov, *Familiiata na Asenevtsi: genealogia i prosopografia* (Sofia, 1984), pp. 27–35, 40–42.

[7] Boris Primov, in Strashimir Lishev (ed.), *Istoriia na Bŭlgaria*, vol. 3 (Sofia, 1982), pp. 131–40; John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1987), pp. 80–87.

[8] See Günter Prinzing, *Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204–1219 in Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung und Entwicklung der byzantinischen Teilstaaten*

managed to enter the lower city of Thessalonike, then held by Boniface of Montferrat, but when the fortified acropolis did not surrender, the daring foray was abandoned. The Bulgarian king established his dominion also over parts of Thrace. Since 1202 Kaloyan had pursued a friendly policy towards the papacy, culminating in a church union and his coronation by the papal cardinal Leo as *Rex Bulgarorum et Vlachorum* on 8 November 1204. This politically motivated rapprochement in no way prevented Kaloyan from turning against the threats posed by the Latin empire of Constantinople. In 1203 Emperor Alexios III (1195–1203) is reported to have sought Kaloyan's assistance; to gain it he was prepared to support the promotion of the head of the Bulgarian Church to the rank of patriarch. In the years 1204–1206, with the cautious support of migrant and local Byzantine aristocrats resident in the Thracian cities (the so-called 'Greek–Bulgarian alliance'), Kaloyan determinedly fought the Latin knights.[9] His humiliating defeat of the crusaders at the battle of Adrianople on 14 April 1205 was accompanied by the fatal fall into captivity of Baldwin of Flanders, the first Latin emperor of Constantinople. But the Byzantine–Bulgarian alliance cracked when Kaloyan, on taking over the city of Philippopolis (Plovdiv) in 1205, severely punished the local Byzantine aristocrats and expelled some of them from the city. In the end, Kaloyan's efforts to establish control over Thrace failed, as the Byzantine provincial elite in the area switched its allegiance from the Bulgarians to the Latins.

Second Phase: 1207–1218

The Bulgarian realm was speedily dismembered under external and internal pressures during the reign of Tsar Boril (1207–1218), a nephew of the three Asen brothers.[10] In 1208 the Latin emperor Henry of Flanders took over Philippopolis after inflicting a military defeat on Boril. Boril's brother *sebastokrator* Strez established himself as an independent ruler in Macedonia, operating from the heavily fortified fortress of Prosek on the Vardar river.[11] On Strez's death in 1214, his lands were absorbed into the increasingly powerful state of Epiros. Also at the onset of Boril's reign, his cousin Alexios Slav (another nephew of the Asen brothers) challenged

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nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels infolge des 4. Kreuzzuges (Munich, 1972), p. 14, n. 12. The chronology of the conquest has been debated. According to Ivan Snegarov, *Istoriia na Ohridskata arkhiepiskopiia*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1924), p. 94, n. 1, Kaloyan annexed Ohrid and Berroia in 1205–1206 after the battle of Adrianople.

[9] Alexandra Krantonelle, *Ἡ κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων Ἑλληνο-Βουλγαρικὴ σύμπραξις ἐν Θράκῃ, 1204–1206* (Athens, 1964).

[10] Bozhilov, *Familiiata na Asenevtsi*, pp. 69–76; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 91–106.

[11] Bozhilov, *Familiiata na Asenevtsi*, pp. 98–100; Ivan Biliarski, *Institutsiite na srednovekovna Bŭlgariia: Vtoro bŭlgarsko tsarstvo, XII–XIV vek* (Sofia, 1998), pp. 95–105.

the tsar and carved out an autonomous lordship, residing at first in the fortress of Tsepina in the western Rhodope Mountains and subsequently moving to the town of Melnik in eastern Macedonia.[12] Melnik itself was the residence of many Greeks who had been expelled from Philippopolis by Kaloyan.[13] Alexios Slav was a staunch ally of the Latin emperor Henry of Hainault, from whom he received his title of Despot, and tenaciously maintained his autonomy, but after 1230 his lands reverted to the Bulgarian kingdom.

Third Phase: 1218–41

Territorial expansion resumed during the long reign of Asen's son, Tsar John Asen II (1218–41), who effectively combined war with diplomacy.[14] The recapture of Philippopolis took place in 1221 (or 1228) as the consequence of one of his several alliances with the Latin empire of Constantinople. The pivotal moment in John Asen II's reign was his resounding victory over the Epirote army at the battle of Klokotnitsa on 9 March 1230 and the humiliating capture of Emperor Theodore Komnenos Doukas. After 1230 the Bulgarian tsar established his suzerainty in a peaceful fashion over most of Thrace and Macedonia, and extended his realm as far as the city of Dyrrachion. Some of the conquered areas, such as the principality of Despot Alexios Slav, were fully incorporated into Bulgaria. In other cases, John Asen II accepted the allegiance of local rulers, such as his son-in-law Manuel Komnenos Doukas, who, for a while after 1230, ruled in Asen's name over the city of Thessalonike and parts of Macedonia and Epiros.

Fourth Phase, 1241–61

Pressure exerted by the Mongols, court factionalism and local separatism led to the weakening and renewed contraction of the kingdom of Turnovo.[15] After 1242 the Bulgarian tsars were forced to pay annual tribute to the Mongols of the Golden

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12 Bozhilov, *Familiiata na Asenevtsi*, pp. 95–7; Biliarski, *Institutsiite*, pp. 48–50.

13 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, eds August Heisenberg and Peter Wirth (Leipzig, 1973), vol. 1, p. 76, lines 25–8. On the history of Melnik during the early thirteenth century, see Theodoros N. Vlachos, *Die Geschichte der byzantinischen Stadt Melenikon* (Thessalonike, 1961), pp. 36–51; Ivan Dujćev, 'Melnik au Moyen Âge', *Byzantion*, 38 (1968): pp. 28–41.

14 Genoveva Tsankova-Petkova, in Lishev (ed.), *Istoriia na Bŭlgariia*, pp. 168–85; Ani Dancheva-Vasileva, *Bŭlgariia i Latinskata imperiia, 1204–1261* (Sofia, 1985), pp. 114–51; Bozhilov, *Familiiata na Asenevtsi*, pp. 77–92; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 106, 124–33.

15 Petŭr Petrov, in Lishev (ed.), *Istoriia na Bŭlgaria*, pp. 264–74; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 154–57 and 170–75.

Horde – a situation that more or less persisted throughout the thirteenth century. John Asen II was succeeded by his underage son Kaliman I (r. 1241–46). Several years later the young tsar was dead, most probably as a result of a coup that elevated his half-brother, Michael Asen, to the throne (r. 1246–56). The emperor of Nicaea John III Batatzes availed himself of the turmoil and in 1246 retook a large part of Macedonia (the upper Strymon valley and, to the east, the cities of Skopje and Veles), while a pocket in central Macedonia (Edessa, Bitola, Ohrid and Prilep) fell at first under the Epirote family of Komnenos Doukas before being annexed by Nicaea in 1252–53. Michael Asen's fruitless war with Nicaea in 1254–56 sealed the Bulgarian territorial losses. The short-lived usurpation by Michael Asen's cousin Kaliman II (r. 1256–57) was accompanied by the fragmentation of the Bulgarian kingdom. The boyars in Turnovo did not recognize Kaliman II and elected in his stead Constantine Tikh (r. 1257–77), a boyar from Skopje who was partly of Serbian royal origin. A grandee named Micho (Mitso in Greek sources), who was married to a daughter of John Asen II, challenged Constantine Tikh and claimed the title of tsar (r. 1256/57–1262/63). In the end Micho's efforts to unseat the tsar in Turnovo failed and he was forced to emigrate to the empire where his family was assimilated into the Byzantine aristocracy, the Asanes family of late Byzantium.[16] At about the same time, the area of Bdin (Vidin) in the north-western section of the Bulgarian kingdom fell under the control of Despot Jacob Svetoslav, a Russian aristocrat and émigré who, in about 1240, had fled to Bulgaria because of the Mongol incursions. In 1261 he married a daughter of the Nicaean emperor Theodore II Laskaris and his Bulgarian consort, and later styled himself tsar of the Bulgarians until his death in 1275.[17]

The above historical excursus helps to clarify the political geography of the Asenid kingdom during the first half of the thirteenth century. The kingdom's heartland lay north of the Balkan Mountains and was centred on the capital city of Turnovo. Peripheral territories that were loosely attached to the centre lay to the south (in Macedonia and Thrace) and the west (the area of Bdin and occasionally also the areas of Belgrade and Branichevo). These territories were subject to centrifugal forces or were contested by neighbouring powers.

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16 On Micho Asen, see Ivan Jordanov, 'Monetosechene na Micho Asen (1256–63) vŭv Veliki Preslav', *Numismatika*, 4 (1981): pp. 21–42. Albert Failler, 'Chronologie et composition dans l'*Histoire* de Georges Pachymère I', *Revue des études byzantines*, 38 (1980): p. 91; Albert Failler, 'Chronologie et composition dans l'*Histoire* de Georges Pachymère II', *Revue des études byzantines*, 39 (1981): pp. 209–10, dates the departure of Micho Asen for Byzantium to 1262–63 on the basis of the testimony of Pachymeres. According to the historian Gregoras, a less reliable witness, the departure of Micho Asen took place before 15 August 1261.

17 Petŭr Nikov, *Bŭlgaro-ungarskite otnosheniia (1257–1277)* (= *Sbornik na Bŭlgarskata Akademiia na Naukite*, 11 [1919]); Biliarski, *Institutsiite*, pp. 51–3.

The historical sources originating from the Asenid kingdom can be classified into, first, official or semi-official texts (documents, royal inscriptions, inscribed seals) and, second, literary and historical works of various kinds and genres. Royal charters are important for the study of taxation and administrative practices in thirteenth-century Bulgaria rather than prosopography: two undated charters issued by John Asen II on behalf of the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos and the commune of Dubrovnik, and a longer (also undated) chrysobull of Constantine Tikh for the monastery of St George Gorgos and Victor near Skopje.[18] Despot Alexios Slav's Greek *sigillion* of January 1220 (the only surviving document from his chancery) provides useful prosopographical information, mentioning two of the abbots of the monastery of the Virgin Speliotissa in Melnik.[19] Of special importance is the correspondence on the union of the Bulgarian church with Rome preserved in the registers of Pope Innocent III (1198–1215), which contain four letters and a sworn chrysobull of Tsar Kaloyan by which the Bulgarian ruler formally accepted the provisions of the union.[20] The correspondence has significant prosopographical utility and opens up a window into Kaloyan's political goals and diplomatic manoeuvres at the time of the Fourth Crusade.

The seals of the tsars and a tsarina are another type of source of royal provenance, which sheds light on the thoroughly 'Byzantinized' imagery of authority projected by the Bulgarian potentates.[21] Two royal inscriptions made on John Asen II's initiative are closely related to the political history of the period. A dedicatory inscription incised in 1230 on a column in the church of the Forty Martyrs in Turnovo celebrates the victory at Klokotnitsa and voices the international ambitions of the 'tsar of the Bulgarians and Greeks'.[22] Another inscription on the walls of the fortress 'Asenova krepost' near Stenimachos, dated 1231, refers to the

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[18] The charters of the Bulgarian tsars have been edited by Grigorii A. Il'inskii, *Gramoty bolgarskikh tsarei* (Moscow, 1911); Angelina Daskalova and Maria Raikova, *Gramoti na bŭlgarskite tsare* (Sofia, 2005). Scholars have sometimes disputed the authenticity of Constantine Tikh's chrysobull. For diplomatic analysis of the charters, see Valeri Stoianov, *Diplomatika na srednovekovna Bŭlgariia: vladetelski dokumenti* (Sofia, 1991). One should also add here the bilateral treaty of Michael Asen with Dubrovnik from 15 June 1253 published by Il'inskii, *Gramoty*, pp. 155–9; see also Ivan Dujčev, *Iz starata bŭlgarska knizhnina*, vol. 2 (Sofia, 1944), pp. 46–54. Ivan Biliarsky, 'Les circonscriptions administratives en Bulgarie au 13e siècle', *Symmeikta*, 13 (1999): pp. 177–202, has used the charters as sources for the administration of the Bulgarian kingdom.

[19] Dujčev, *Iz starata*, vol. 2, pp. 30–35.

[20] Critical edition in Ivan Dujčev, *Prepiskata na papa Inokentiia III s bŭlgarite (= Innocentii PP. III epistolae ad Bulgariae historiam spectantes)*, Godishnik na Universiteta Sv. Kliment Ohridski-Sofia, Istorichesko-filologicheski falŭltet, vol. 37/3, 1942.

[21] Ivan Jordanov, *Pechatite na srednovekovna Bŭlgariia* (Sofia, 2001), pp. 90–129; Ivan Jordanov, 'Korpus na pechatite na srednovekovna Bŭlgariia: addenda et corrigenda', *Numismatika i epigrafika*, 1 (2003): pp. 95–113, esp. pp. 108–12 (seal of Tsarina Irene).

[22] The inscription has been published several times. See Vasil Zlatarski, *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava prez srednite vekove*, vol. 3 (Sofia, 1940), pp. 587–92; Phaedon

fortress' construction by the 'tsar of the Bulgarians, Greeks and other lands' and the appointment of a certain *sevast* Aleksii as its commander.[23]

From a prosopographical viewpoint, seals and inscriptions associated with state and church dignitaries or with private individuals are more valuable than the royal seals and inscriptions. Unfortunately, seals beyond the royal family are a rarity. The only example attributable to the period recorded in Ivan Jordanov's corpus of Bulgarian seals is the seal of Visarion, 'Patriarch of the Bulgarians'.[24] More common are signet rings bearing the name of their owner or commissioner in Cyrillic, which are an important source for the system of dignities and offices in the second Bulgarian kingdom.[25] Establishing their date, however, can be accomplished only hypothetically and imprecisely through epigraphic analysis. Unlike the signet rings, private dedicatory inscriptions are sometimes dated or refer to datable circumstances. These inscriptions are found on fortresses (such as the inscription of *douka velik* Vrana on the fortress of Kritsuva in Macedonia produced during Kaloyan's reign)[26] and crosses (such as the cross of a certain *sevast* Berislav).[27] Private inscriptions mark the foundation of religious buildings, such as the church of St Nicholas in Melnik built by a certain Vladimir, brother of the *sebastos* of the Franks, which is commemorated by a Greek dedicatory inscription.[28] An inscription in Cyrillic set up at the newly founded monastery, now ruined, near the modern village of Batoshevo, mentions the name of its patron, the patriarch of Turnovo.[29]

In a similar way, manuscript notes and colophons bring to light individuals unlikely to have entered the historical record otherwise. Most of these notes are in Slavonic manuscripts.[30] For example, a note in the Bologna Psalter states that

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Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften des Hämus-Halbinsel*, vol. 1, *Die bulgarischen Inschriften* (Thessalonike, 1979), no. 22, pp. 53–9.

23 Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften*, no. 13, pp. 60–62, with further bibliography.

24 Jordanov, *Pechatite*, pp. 130–31, with a discussion of the date of the seal.

25 Ibid., pp. 138–44. See Biliarski, *Institutsiite*, pp. 174 and 181.

26 Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften*, no. 9, pp. 47–9, with further bibliography. Cf. Biliarksi, *Institutsiite*, pp. 210–13. The inscription was found near the modern village of Karydochori (Kŭrchovo) in northern Greece and has been (rather hypothetically) dated to May 1204.

27 Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften*, no. 11, p. 52. Cf. Biliarski, *Institutsiite*, pp. 124–35.

28 Iordan Ivanov, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedoniia* (Sofia, 1908), pp. 212–13. According to another reading, the founder mentioned in the inscription was 'Vladimir, brother of *sebastos* Frankos'. The inscription is traditionally attributed to the time when Melnik was under Alexios Slav. See Biliarski, *Institutsiite*, p. 133.

29 Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften*, no. 14, pp. 63–8.

30 For a modern Bulgarian translation of many of these notes, see Petŭr Petrov and Vasil Gjuzelev, *Khristomatiia po istoriia na Bŭlgariia*, vol. 2 (Sofia, 1978), pp. 410–14; Ivan Bozhilov and Stefan Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina prez XIII vek*

the copyists Iosif and Tikhota produced the manuscript 'in the town of Ohrid, in the village called Ravne, at the time of the Bulgarian tsar Asen' (that is, John Asen II).[31] Greek manuscripts were also copied in the Asenid kingdom. A colophon in a gospel book kept in the National Library of Athens states that in November 1206 a certain *sebastos* Basileios Bampoulenos donated the manuscript to the monastery of the Archangels *tou Champar* in Melnik – at a time when Melnik was part of Kaloyan's kingdom.[32]

Historical and literary narratives (the distinction is often blurred) are another class of sources with some prosopographical value. Extensive histories and chronicles composed on the Byzantine model have not been preserved. Two brief historical narratives were interpolated into the so-called *Synodikon* of Boril. The first narrative is closely connected to the original composition of this important historical collection. In February 1211 Tsar Boril convened and presided over an anti-Bogomil council held in Turnovo.[33] Heretics were interrogated, and those who remained unrepentant were severely punished or exiled. On that occasion the Byzantine *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy (in a twelfth-century redaction) was translated with the intention that it should be read on the first Sunday of Lent, just as was done in Byzantium.[34] An intriguing account of the participants and date of the council as well as the measures taken against the Bogomils was appended at the end of the translation.[35] The names of 13 Bogomil heretics (one at least possibly from thirteenth-century Bulgaria) were added to the anathemas found in the Byzantine *Synodikon*.[36]

(Sofia, 1987), pp. 194–9. Cf. Anisava Miltenova and Maria Iovcheva, in Anisava Miltenova (ed.), *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata srednovekovna literatura* (Sofia, 2008), p. 438.

31 For a facsimile edition of the manuscript see Ivan Dujčev, *Bolonski psaltir, bŭlgarski knizhoven pametnik ot XIII vek* (Sofia, 1968).

32 Andreas Xyngopoulos, *Τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Μελενίκου εἰς τὴν Ἐθνικὴν Βιβλιοθήκην τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Thessalonike, 1975), pp. 14–15. A note in a Greek codex containing the works of Basil the Great (Cod. Regin. gr. 18) copied in 1073 states that a certain Theodore *grammatikos* bought the book in 1242/43 'after the incursion of the godless Tatars during the reign in Bulgaria of Kaliman Asen'. See Zlatarski, *Istoriia*, vol. 3, p. 424, n. 1. See Duičev, *Iz starata*, vol. 2, no. 81, pp. 277 and 412–13.

33 Dimitri Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 234–7; Dimitŭr S. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto* (Sofia, 1993), pp. 376–81.

34 Mikhail G. Popruzhenko (ed.), *Sinodik Tsaria Borila* (Sofia, 1928). On the relationship between the Byzantine *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy and the *Synodikon* of Boril, see Dimitŭr S. Anguelov, 'Nouvelles données sur le bogomilsme dans le "Synodikon de l'orthodoxie"', *Byzantinobulgarica*, 3 (1969), pp. 9–21; Ivan Dujčev, 'Das Synodikon von Boril als Geschichte und Schriftumsdenkmal', *Byzantinobulgarica*, 6 (1980), pp. 115–24.

35 Popruzhenko (ed.), *Sinodik*, §110, pp. 78–82; modern Bulgarian translation in Bozhilov and Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina*, pp. 111–12.

36 Popruzhenko (ed.), *Sinodik*, §77–8, p. 68; ibid., §111, p. 82; cf. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto*, p. 377 and n. 35, for a discussion and further bibliography.

After 1211 the *Synodikon* of Boril become an official record book of the Bulgarian Church. Anathemas against subsequent heresiarchs were entered and the names of members of the royal family, patriarchs of Turnovo and bishops were registered for commemoration. Some of the commemorations mention individuals who are unknown from other sources and are valuable pieces of historical evidence.[37] One interpolation in the *Synodikon* includes the so-called *Story of the Restoration of the Bulgarian Patriarchate*, a historical narrative that was composed as a self-contained text and circulated also independently.[38] It describes events accompanying the proclamation of the Bulgarian patriarchate in Lampsakos in 1235 and has a unique value, among other things, for transmitting otherwise unattested Byzantine documents in Slavonic translation: a letter by the Nicaean emperor John III Batatzes to the four Orthodox patriarchs (Germanos II of Constantinople, Athanasios II of Jerusalem, Symeon II of Antioch and Nicholas I of Alexandria) and the reply by the three Eastern patriarchs to Germanos II.[39]

Elements of historical narrative appear in hagiographical works. The only historical personage from thirteenth-century Bulgaria to be the subject of hagiography is Ioakim I, the patriarch of Turnovo at the time of the restoration of the patriarchate in 1235. His *vita*, of which only a fragment survives, gives important information about Ioakim's life, monastic disciples, and career.[40] Historical information is also found in hagiographical works associated with the popular cult of St Parasakeue-Petka. Paraskeue, who was a tenth-century Byzantine saint, was widely popular among the Balkan people during the late Middle Ages. Bulgarians and Serbians knew her as 'Sveta Petka'. In about 1231 Tsar John Asen II arranged for the transfer of her relics from Kallikrateia in Thrace, then under Latin control, to the royal church of Turnovo. The account of the *translatio* is historical in content and informs us of the diplomatic relations between Turnovo and Nicaea during John Asen II's reign.[41]

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37 See, for example, Popruzhenko (ed.), *Sinodik*, §158, p. 93, for the names of the archbishops of Ohrid during John Asen II's reign following Demetrios Chomatenos' term in office. See also Snegarov, *Istoriia*, vol. 1, pp. 151 and 211.

38 Popruzhenko (ed.), *Sinodik*, §112, pp. 82–7; Boniu St. Angelov, 'Deux contributions à l'histoire de la culture médiévale bulgare. 1. Copie inconnue du récit de la restauration du patriarcat bulgare', *Byzantinobulgarica*, 4 (1973): pp. 75–83. For a translation see Bozhilov and Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina*, pp. 113–14.

39 Franz Dölger and Peter Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, vol. 3, *Regesten von 1204–1282* (Munich, 1977), no. 1744.

40 The text found in an early fifteenth-century *menaion* has been published by Ivan Snegarov, 'Neizdadeni bŭlgarski zhitiia', *Godishnik na Dukhovnata Akademiia*, 19 (1953–54): pp. 162–8; Khristo Kodov, *Opisanie na slavianskite rŭkopisi v Bibliotekata na BAN* (Sofia, 1969), pp. 44–8; translation in Bozhilov and Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina*, pp. 57–8. See Bistra Nikolova, 'Zhitieto na Patriarkh Ioakim I kato istoricheski izvor', *Istoricheski Pregled* (1979, part 6): pp. 122–31.

41 The text was discovered, published and translated by Stefan Kozhukharov, 'Neizvesten letopisen razkaz ot vremeto na Ivan Asen II', *Literaturna misŭl*, 2 (1974):

Mentions of transferrals of relics to Turnovo appear also in other works of hagiography composed during the thirteenth century, which have no value for prosopography, such as the *vita* of St Michael the Warrior from Potuka[42] and the story of the *translatio* of the relics of St Hilarion of Mŭglen (Moglena).[43] The cult of the two saints appears to have emerged during the eleventh and twelfth centuries among the Bulgarian-speaking population of the Byzantine Empire. Tsar Kaloyan transferred the relics of the saints to Turnovo with the intention, shared also by the other Asenid tsars, of turning the Bulgarian royal capital into a great Christian city.

Although the apocryphal prophecies composed in thirteenth-century Bulgaria have no immediate value for prosopography, this rich and fascinating body of literature deserves mention because of its retrospective allusions to historical events and persons, and its importance as a source on popular perceptions and cultural attitudes. Prophecies such as the *Vision of Daniel from the Holy Books*[44] and the *Tale of Sybil*[45] are creative adaptations of Byzantine models. The production of the *Vision of Daniel from the Holy Books* dates not long after 1204, even though it has been preserved solely in a later Serbian redaction in the Dragolov

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pp. 123–35; translation also in Bozhilov and Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina*, pp. 112–13. Here an account is found of the journey and ordination of the monk Ioakim as archbishop of the Bulgarian church before the proclamation of the patriarchate. Kozhukharov dates the event to 1234.

42 Ivanov, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedoniia*, vol. 2, pp. 422–4; translation in Bozhilov and Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina*, pp. 55–7. See Klementina Ivanova, 'Literaturni nabliudenia vŭrhu dve pokhvalni slova na Evtimii Tŭrnovski', *Starobŭlgarska literatura*, 14 (1983), pp. 10–24.

43 Ivanov, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedoniia*, vol. 2, pp. 419–20; translation in Bozhilov and Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina*, p. 55. The longer and better-known life of St Hilarion was composed during the second half of the fourteenth century by Patriarch Evtimii (Euthymios) of Turnovo.

44 Vasilka Tŭpkova-Zaimova and Anisava Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptichnata knizhnina vŭv Vizantiia i v srednovekovna Bŭlgaria* (Sofia, 1996), pp. 207–26 (critical edition, commentary and translation of this and another of the four adapted translations of the Greek prophecy). The two editors have localized the emergence of the four Slavic versions to the Bulgarian lands after 1204. For the Greek prototype see Afanasii Vasil'ev, *Anecdota Greco-Byzantina, pars prima* (Moscow, 1893), pp. 43–7. Cf. Snezhana Rakova, *Chetvŭrtiiat krŭstonosen pokhod v istoricheskata pamet na pravoslavnite slaviani* (Sofia, 2007), pp. 161–5.

45 Anisava Miltenova, 'Skazanie za Sivila (Arkheologicheski belezhki, tekstologichesko izsledvane, izdanie na teksta)', *Starobŭlgaristika*, 4 (1984), pp. 44–77; translation in Tŭpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptichnata*, pp. 264–76. The Greek model (the oracle of the Tiburtine Sybil) has been published and analysed in detail by Paul Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, DC, 1976).

sbornik.[46] The prophecy makes a unique mention of 'the people of Baldwin', who, it is announced, shall conquer Constantinople, but afterwards 'the shaven people' (that is, the beardless Latin knights) will flee from the imperial city in disgrace. Another prophecy, without a known Greek prototype, is the so-called *Pandekh*, which predicts the fate of various lands and peoples and has been dated to the year 1259.[47]

The image of the Byzantine states of Nicaea and Epiros in Bulgarian sources presents a mixture of tradition and innovation. The Byzantine term of self-designation *Romaios* was traditionally translated among the Slavs as 'Greek'.[48] Thirteenth-century Bulgarian texts make no exception. The emperors of the two rival states of Epiros and Nicaea are consistently described either as 'tsars' of the Greeks or as ruling over the Greeks. The inscription carved in 1230 in the church of the Forty Martyrs in Turnovo boasts of John Asen II's victory over the 'Greek army' and the resultant capture of 'tsar *kier* Theodor Komnin (kyr Theodoros Komnenos) and his boyars'; the victory is said to have led the Bulgarian ruler to establish his dominion over 'the land from Adrianople to Dyrrachion – Greek as well as Serbian and Albanian'.[49] The *Story of the Restoration of the Bulgarian Patriarchate* refers to John III Batatzes as the 'pious tsar of the Greeks Kaloyan Doukas'.[50] Previous Byzantine emperors are regularly labelled 'tsars of the Greeks' in the *Synodikon* of Boril.

Interestingly, the *Story of the Restoration of the Bulgarian Patriarchate* calls the Nicaean emperor both 'the Greek tsar' and also the 'eastern tsar'.[51] The

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46 On the Dragolov sbornik, a very important codex for the transmission of apocalyptic and prophetic texts, see Anisava Miltenova, 'Tsikŭlŭt ot istoriko-apokaliptichni tvorbi v Dragoloviia sbronik: proizhod, iztochnitsi i kompozitsiia', *Starobŭlgarska literatura*, 25–6 (1991), pp. 135–44. On the historical context, see Tŭpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptichnata*, pp. 207–8.

47 Ibid., pp. 243–59 (edition, translation and commentary). The text survives solely in the Dragolov sbornik. On the historical context, see Đorđe S. Radojičić, 'Pandekhovo skazanie 1259 g. (O Vizantii, tatarakh, kumanakh, russkikh, vengrakh, serbakh, bolgarakh)', *Trudy otdelenia drevnorusskoi literatury*, 16 (1960): pp. 161–6.

48 The proto-Bulgarian inscriptions composed in vernacular Greek during the eighth and ninth centuries already refer to the Byzantines as *Graikoi*, a usage that may have originated from the Latin-speaking population north of the Balkans Mountains. See Veselin Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1963), p. 139. Slavonic translations of Byzantine chronicles and apocryphal texts produced in tenth-century Bulgaria normally refer to Byzantium as the tsardom of the 'Greeks' (*Gr'tsi*). See Vasilka Tŭpkova-Zaimova, '"Grecs" et "Romains" dans la literature bulgare', *Études balkaniques* (1984, part 1): pp. 51–7. For the same pattern and a curious exception see Angel Nikolov, 'Empire of the Romans or Tsardom of the Greeks? The Image of Byzantium in the Earliest Slavonic Translations from Greek', *Byzantinoslavica*, 65 (2007): pp. 31–40.

49 See above, note 22.

50 Popruzhenko (ed.), *Sinodik*, §113, p. 85.

51 Ibid., §113, p. 86.

implication seems to be that John Asen II is 'the western tsar' equal in standing to the Nicaean emperor. After all, John Asen II styled himself in his charters as 'tsar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks'. One hardly needs to be reminded here that the medieval Bulgarian rulers looked up to the Byzantine court for their titles and insignia;[52] yet the juxtaposition of Nicaea and Bulgaria as the imperial East and West is highly unusual. The reference to the Nicaean emperor as the 'eastern tsar' may become more understandable when we consider the geographical language used to describe the political realities after 1204 in various areas of the former Byzantine Empire. Examination of this usage reflects an intriguing story about shared political notions in the fragmented Byzantine world after the fall of Constantinople.

While the *Story of the Restoration of the Bulgarian Patriarchate* calls John III Batatzes 'the eastern tsar', the *Life* of Patriarch Ioakim refers to the bishops present at the patriarch's enthronement in Turnovo in 1235 as the 'western bishops'. These 'western bishops' appear to have been none other than churchmen from the Bulgarian kingdom, contrasted here with the Nicaean ones who attended the proclamation in Lampsakos.[53] Contemporary Greek-speaking authors also presented the rival empires of Nicaea and Epiros in terms of the East and the West. Examples of this unofficial usage are numerous and revealing. Two letters of the exiled metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates to the emperor Theodore I Laskaris bear the title 'To the emperor of the East'.[54] In a polemical letter to the archbishop of Ohrid Demetrios Chomatenos, Patriarch Germanos II praised the Lord for planting 'the new paradise of the church in the East', that is, the empire of Nicaea.[55] In his letter of response Chomatenos (who had performed the imperial coronation of the Epirote ruler in 1227) wrote that the West imitated the East in proclaiming its own emperor after the fall of Constantinople and the dispersal of the senate to both areas.[56] The bishops of the state of Epiros referred to themselves as western in contrast to the eastern ones in Nicaea.[57] At the restoration of the union of the Epirote and the Nicaean churches in 1233, Patriarch Germanos II

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52 Georgi Bakalov, *Srednovekovniiat bŭlgarski vladetel (titulatura i insignii)*, 2nd edn (Sofia, 1995), *passim*, esp. pp. 186–250 (the period of the second Bulgarian kingdom).

53 Kodov, *Opisanie*, p. 46. The passage appears after a lacuna in the text. See the commentary in Snegarov, 'Neizdadeni', p. 165.

54 *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Sp. Lampros, vol. 2 (Athens, 1880), no. 84, p. 149; ibid., no. 179, pp. 353–4.

55 Günter Prinzing, 'Die *Antigraphe* des Patriarchen Germanos II. an Erzbischof Demetrios Chomatenos von Ohrid und die Korrespondenz zum nikäisch-epirotischen Konflikt 1212–1233,' *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 3 (1983) (= *Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi*, vol. 3): pp. 35, lines 41–2. The allusion is to Genesis 2:8.

56 Prinzing, *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, no. 114, pp. 372, lines 67–373, at line 83.

57 See Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, 'Lettre de Georges Bardanès, métropolite de Corcyre, au patriarche œcuménique Germain II', reprinted in Raymond-Joseph Loenertz,

was praised rhetorically for 'wedding the two sisters, that is, the East and the West'.[58] The historian George Akropolites spoke of the European possessions of the Nicaean Empire as 'the western parts' or 'the western lands'.[59] Constantinople seems to have remained the focal point of reference for this geographical usage despite being a Latin possession. Thirteenth-century Bulgarian authors appeared to share with contemporary Greeks the same mental map of imperial space, with Constantinople lying at its centre.

The western masters of Constantinople ('Tsargrad') appear in Bulgarian texts with the name 'Franks' (*frǫzi*)[60] or 'Latins' (*latini*).[61] The Latin claim to the Roman imperial tradition was not unknown among the Bulgarians after 1204. The *Vision of Daniel from the Holy Books* makes a telling statement about the conquest of Constantinople that is absent from the Greek prototype. The author of the Slavic adaptation interpreted what appeared to be the merger of the two Romes in 1204 with the prophetic statement: 'Constantinople ("Tsargrad") shall belong to Rome, and Rome to Constantinople ("Tsargrad")'.[62] At the same time, however, the *Vision* calls the western conquerors 'Latins' or 'Baldwin's people', not 'Romans'. Only in the second half of the fourteenth century Patriarch Evtimii (Euthymios) of Turnovo (*c*.1320/30–*c*.1402) dubbed the Latin conquerors of Constantinople 'Romans' in his reworking of earlier hagiographical material.[63]

The feeling of cultural affinity with Byzantine civilization among the Bulgarians in the early thirteenth century is a large and complex question, whose full treatment exceeds our limited goals here. A few relevant observations can be offered, in addition to what has been noted about common notions of political geography and shared imagery of royal power. The fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire coupled with the Latin conquest of Constantinople deprived Byzantine civilization

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Byzantina et Franco-Graeca (Rome, 1970), p. 464, lines 4–19, p. 497, lines 382–3, pp. 499, line 438–500, line 448.

58 See the letter of Despot Manuel Komnenos Doukas in Eduard Kurtz, 'Christophoros von Ankyra als Exarch des Patriarchen Germanos II', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16 (1907): p. 132.

59 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, eds Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 72, line 10, and p. 181, lines 2–3. *George Akropolites, The History*, transl. R. Macrides (Oxford, 2007), p. 114, where Macrides points out a case of this usage during the twelfth century.

60 E.g., the inscription in the church of the Forty Martyrs in Turnovo and the account of the *translatio* of the relics of St Hilarion of Moglena. See above, notes 22 and 43.

61 E.g., the account of the *translatio* of the relics of St Petka in Kozhukharov, 'Neizvesten', p. 128. The Serbian usage of the word 'Greeks' (which in medieval Serbia, too, referred to the *Romaioi*) in reference to the subjects of the Latin emperors of Constantinople is unknown in thirteenth-century Bulgaria. See Ljubomir Maksimović, 'Značenje reči Grk i Jelin u srpskim srednjovekovnim izvorima', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 38 (1999–2000): pp. 215–26, here pp. 219–20.

62 Tŭpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptichnata*, p. 214.

63 See the very detailed analysis in Rakova, *Chetvŭrtiiat krŭstonosen pokhod*, pp. 134–8.

of its political pulling force. The influence of the Roman Church among the Balkan Slavs in the early thirteenth century threatened the cultural unity of the Byzantine–Slavic world.[64] The union with the papacy lasted in Bulgaria from November 1204 until, most probably, about 1232 – much longer than in neighbouring Serbia.[65] Yet the union did not lead to a true separation of the Bulgarians from Orthodoxy, nor did it interrupt their cultural bonds with Byzantium that had been nurtured for centuries. For one, the union was a matter of political alliance and ecclesiastical jurisdiction rather than doctrine. No doctrinal concessions were discussed in the diplomatic correspondence between Kaloyan and Innocent III. The anti-Bogomil council of Turnovo in 1211 demonstrates the continual influence of Byzantine church practices.[66] In accordance with the Byzantine model, Tsar Boril convoked, presided and took an active part in the council by examining the views of the heretics. The translation and adaptation of the Byzantine *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy was one of the results of the council.

The archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrios Chomatenos, perceived the Bulgarians as Orthodox at the very period when the Bulgarian church was in union with Rome. A decision of the synod of Ohrid in 1217/18 (which is further explained in a letter of Chomatenos to the metropolitan of Corfu) deals with the problem of the Bulgarian bishops (*boulgaroepiskopoi*) and parish priests ordained uncanonically in his large diocese after its conquest by Kaloyan in the initial years of the thirteenth century.[67] It was decided that the bishops should be deposed, while the parish priests were permitted to stay after a suitable penance. The argument for the deposition of the Bulgarian bishops rested notably on their breach of proper ecclesiastical rules and hierarchy, not their schismatic doctrine. On the contrary, it was explicitly stated in the letter and in the synodal decision that the Bulgarians were 'Orthodox, not heretics' and that their priests, deacons and subdeacons should be left officiating as 'they received their ordination by Orthodox clerics according to the holy customs of the church'.[68] The express avowal of a shared faith with the Bulgarians contrasts with an opinion of Chomatenos regarding the unionist Georgian monks in the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos, who willingly switched their spiritual allegiance to the papacy during the same period. 'Italian beliefs and customs',

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64 Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London, 1971), pp. 237–43.

65 Vasil Gjuzelev, 'Das Papsttum und Bulgarien im Mittelalter (9–14. Jr.)', *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 5 (1977): pp. 34–58, here pp. 42–7.

66 A point stressed by Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 236; Nikolai S. Shivarov, 'Otnosno niakoi sŭobrazheniia i motivi za svikvaneto na Tŭrnovskiia sŭbor v 1211 g. i za negoviia obrazets', *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia 'Kliment Ohridski', Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines 'Ivan Dujčev'*, 1 (1987): pp. 89–98, points out that the council was 'Orthodox in character, but had no narrow confessional limits'.

67 *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, no. 8, no. 146; cf. Ibid., pp. *69–*70; *261–*262.

68 Ibid., no. 8, p. 51, lines 148–9, and no. 146, p. 427, lines 142–6.

Chomatenos declared, 'have been rejected by our holy church'. He advised that the Greek Orthodox monks should sever their links with the Georgian unionist ones.[69] Indeed, in the very period of Bulgaria's ecclesiastical union with Rome, Mount Athos functioned as a transnational Orthodox centre where Bulgarian monks also took up residence. According to his *vita*, Ioakim I learnt monastic practices on Mount Athos before returning to Bulgaria and becoming eventually the patriarch of Turnovo. Monks from Mount Athos are said to have attended the official proclamation of the Bulgarian patriarchate in Lampsakos in 1235.[70]

The continuing work of translation from Greek into Slavonic produced in Bulgaria also points to open channels of cultural communication with Byzantium. In addition to the *Synodikon* and the prophecies, hagiographical texts were also translated. The story of the *translatio* of the relics of St Petka mentions that the monk Ioakim (during his trip to the 'great Nicaea' in about 1234 where he was ordained archbishop of Bulgaria) stopped at Kallikrateia, where he obtained a *vita*, an *encomium* and a service associated with the saint for the purpose of translation.[71] As was not uncommon, translations were furnished with original Bulgarian additions. Thus, the brief life of St Petka (based, it seems, on the twelfth-century Greek *vita* composed by the deacon Basilikos) ends by mentioning the transferral of the saint's relics to Turnovo at John Asen II's orders.[72]

While post-1204 Bulgaria continued to be under the lasting cultural spell of Byzantine civilization, the prosopographer using Bulgarian sources faces a series of immediate practical decisions regarding the identity of the individuals. Almost all the individuals mentioned in the Bulgarian sources lived, at one point or another, within the confines of the Bulgarian kingdom and its satellites. Ethnicity was doubtless an important marker of individual and collective identity. The independence of Bulgaria from Byzantium was accompanied by an upsurge of patriotic feeling that manifested itself in various ways. For example, hagiographical cycles reworked in the thirteenth century invent Bulgarian ethnic origins for popular saints, such as St Demetrios and Ss Cyril and Methodios, the apostles to the Slavs.[73] The *Tale of Sybil* features a prophetic vision of nine nations (these were actually nine generations in the Greek model) and describes the first nation, 'the Slavs, that is, the Bulgarians', in a glowingly positive way. By contrast, the third nation after the Bulgarians and Georgians, the Greeks, was portrayed with negative stereotypes, except for the statement that they 'will hand

69 Ibid., no. 54, p. 200, lines 85–8. Cf. ibid., pp. *133–*135.

70 Popruzhenko (ed.), *Sinodik*, §113, p. 86.

71 Kozhukharov, 'Neizvesten', p. 128.

72 Emil Kałužniacki, *Zur älteren Paraskevalitteratur der Griechen, Slaven und Romänen* (Vienna, 1899), pp. 52–4. Bulgarian translation in Bozhilov and Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina*, pp. 53–4, commentary on pp. 209–10.

73 Ana Stoikova, 'Agiografiiata prez 13 vek', in Miltenova (ed.), *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, pp. 455–6, with further references.

over their kingdom to God as they love the church'.[74] The period before 1185 when the Bulgarians had been subjects to the empire was sometimes represented with the language of oppression or domination. The *Synodikon* of Boril calls it 'Greek slavery'.[75] Greek phraseology also referred retrospectively to it as 'yoke'[76] or 'legitimate yoke'.[77] The stirrings of protonationalism are seen especially in the historical memory of Bulgarian statehood and the equation drawn between ethnicity and political allegiance. Thus, the continuity with the first Bulgarian empire was proudly advertised,[78] and the Bulgarian population in the Nicaean Empire was considered disloyal and prone to support the Asenid kings.[79]

One has to keep in mind, of course, that in the pre-modern era ethnicity alone was incapable of state building. In this respect, a series of historical episodes on the Nicaean–Bulgarian frontier reported in the *History* of George Akropolites is instructive.[80] Describing the surrender of the town of Serres to Nicaea in 1246 by its Bulgarian commander Dragotas (a native of Melnik bearing a Slavic name), Akropolites mentions that Dragotas did so voluntarily when he learnt about the death of the Bulgarian tsar and the approach of the Nicaean army led by John III Batatzes. He assisted the Nicaean emperor in the takeover of Serres and in securing the peaceful surrender of Melnik – acts for which he was generously remunerated. Until 1254 Dragotas was in the service of Nicaea as a commander of troops in Melnik. The story so far demonstrates that political allegiance could cut across ethnic lines, yet it does not end here. Later in 1246 when the Nicaean emperor advanced from Serres to Melnik, the *Romaioi* in the city were elated at the arrival of *their* emperor and claimed that their Bulgarian neighbours in the

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74 In the other Bulgarian redaction of the *Tale of Sybil*, the Greeks are the second nation.

75 Popruzhenko (ed.), *Sinodik*, §91, p. 77 (from Drinovski sbornik). In the early 1250s Theodore II Laskaris also speaks of the 'ancient slavery' (*doulotes*) of the Bulgarians. See his panegyric of John III Batatzes in *Theodorus II Ducas Lascaris. Opuscula rhetorica*, ed. L. Tartaglia (Munich, 2000), p. 29, line 129.

76 *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, no. 146, p. 423, lines 17–19 (an interesting play of words).

77 See George Akropolites' funeral oration on the death of Emperor John III Batatzes in *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, eds Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 2, p. 16, line 8.

78 Thus Kaloyan claimed in his sworn chrysobull of acceptance of the union that his 'predecessors Symeon, Peter, Samuel' had been crowned with an imperial crown by the popes. See Duičev, *Prepiskata*, no. 15, p. 44.

79 Akropolites (*Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, eds Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 109, lines 1–5) mentions that the Bulgarian population in the western districts of the Nicaean Empire 'always harboured enmity towards the *Romaioi*' and readily supported the Asenids.

80 What follows is based on Akropolites' *History*, in *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, eds Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, pp. 75–9, 114–17 (§44 and §58). See also the English translation and commentary in *George Akropolites, The History*, transl. Macrides, pp. 230–35, 288–91.

town, too, would willingly accept Nicaean rule on account of the marriage of the Nicaean crown prince to a Bulgarian princess. Eight years later, in 1254–55, when a Nicaean–Bulgarian war broke out, Dragotas rebelled in Melnik, but was not successful and was killed. Akropolites explains that Dragotas 'as a Bulgarian nourished by nature an ill-will towards the *Romaioi*' and, furthermore, found that the treatment he received from John III Batatzes fell short of his expectations. Thus, in Akropolites' view, ethnicity was a factor to be reckoned with in predicting political behaviour, yet, in practice, it was neither the sole nor the most decisive factor.

Does the evidence of the sources enable us to assign ethnicity to individuals, and in particular to distinguish between Greeks (*Romaioi*) and Bulgarians? The problem is complex and multifaceted, and only a few cursory considerations can be offered here. In general, the pitfalls facing this aspect of prosopography are deep enough to mandate caution. The best criterion for determining ethnicity would be a self-referential declaration of ethnic consciousness, but this criterion is impracticable because such statements about an individual's own perceived identity are almost never encountered. Ascriptions of ethnicity are valuable, even though they are rare, and involve the additional problem of being external labelling. So the prosopographer has to apply other yardsticks, such as the individuals' name, language and place of habitation. If all three elements, or at least two of them, are known, cogent hypotheses are possible. Too often, however, only the name of an individual is known.

First, let us consider language, which was recognized as a marker of ethnic identity during our period. Chomatenos uses the adjective *homoglossoi* ('speaking the same language') to refer to the Bulgarian bishops ordained in Turnovo to officiate in his archbishopric during the Bulgarian domination of the area.[81] Unfortunately, when it comes to describing individuals in a prosopography, it is impossible to determine who spoke what language and when. The only self-evident consideration is that in ethnically homogenous areas usually one language was spoken, while areas of mixed population and mixed families were bilingual. In this regard, the role of the place of habitation gains importance. Areas of mixed population are known from our sources – the well-documented case of Melnik has been highlighted several times.

Personal names (mostly baptismal names) seem to provide a tangible and concrete standard for determining ethnicity. After all, Slavic names are clearly distinguishable from Greek ones.[82] However, telling Greeks (*Romaioi*) apart from Bulgarians on the basis of names alone is problematic. A number of popular baptismal names in thirteenth-century Bulgaria were of Greek origin, often being the names of saints or other Christian holy figures. Two of the Asenid tsars are

[81] *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Prinzing, no. 8, p. 49, lines 74–8.

[82] Ivan Bozhilov, *Bŭlgarite vŭv Vizantiiskata imperiia* (Sofia, 1995), pp. 10–11, prefers personal names as well as historical memory and relevant supplementary data as criteria for identifying the Bulgarians in the Byzantine Empire.

illuminating examples. Tsar Kaloyan is most often known with this form of his name, which is of Greek origin (literally 'the good John'), even though Greek, Latin and old French sources name him also *Ioannitsa*, *Ioannes*, *Ioannitius*, *Johan*, etc.[83] Kaloyan appears to have been his preferred name, as it is found in the documents issued by his own chancery and in the *Synodikon* of Boril. The name of Tsar Kaliman I is derived from the Hungarian 'Koloman' (his mother, John Asen II's second wife, was a Hungarian princess), yet the tsar is known in the Bulgarian royal tradition with the Hellenized form of his name.

As a corollary to this discussion, it must be said that baptismal names in Byzantine documents raise similar problems when examined as signifiers of ethnicity along the Greek–Slavic ethnic frontier. Thus, one finds in Byzantine fiscal inventories (*praktika*) from the early fourteenth century the case of a head of a peasant household bearing a Slavic name, while his brother has a 'neutral' name of Greek origin, such as George.[84] It is implausible that siblings would belong to different ethnicities. Conversely, when one finds a single mention of an individual bearing a Slavic name, such as a certain Glabas from Kastoria, apparently a local grandee, who joined the camp of John III Batatzes in Edessa (Vodena) in the winter of 1252–53,[85] there is no way of determining his ethnicity. For it is not known for how many generations the Slavic ancestors of this Glabas lived in Kastoria (they may or may not have been recent migrants), or whether he was already acculturated to Byzantine civilization.

This call of caution is in no way meant to delegitimize the differentiation among ethnicities at the level of individual prosopography as a heuristic approach. Among the Greeks (*Romaioi*) and the Bulgarians, such ethnic distinctions existed and, in my opinion, contributed to forging group solidarities alongside other factors of economic, political and cultural nature. However, attributions of ethnicity with a comfortable level of certainty are rarely possible on account of the lack of adequate information about most of the individuals mentioned. Case-by-case conclusions are feasible only rarely and, in most cases, are mere hypotheses with a varying degree of plausibility. One assertion that can often be made securely concerns the political allegiance of individuals or aggregate groups attested at a particular time and place – and the knowledge of place and time is crucial. For, ironically, the complicated political history of the period 1204–1261 is better known to us than the full gamut of markers of individual identity.

After 1204 the Bulgarians preserved their traditional cultural affinity with Byzantine civilization, despite the new barriers set by political fragmentation, protonational pride, and nearly 30 years of union between the Bulgarian and the Roman Church. Bulgarian sources are doubtless of interest to prosopography. The

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83 On the various versions of the name of Kaloyan, see Bozhilov, *Familiiata na Asenevtsi*, p. 58, n. 2.

84 See Angeliki Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), p. 133.

85 *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, eds Heisenberg and Wirth, vol. 1, p. 90, lines 18–19.

material from inscriptions and manuscript notes is especially rich and promising. And if, in the end analysis, the ethnic identity of individuals along the amorphous Greek–Bulgarian frontier proves often to be evasive, this serves to demonstrate once again the underlying cultural unity of the Byzantine–Slavic commonwealth.


Serbia and Bulgaria
Bdin
Studenica
Mileševa
Niš
Ras
SERBIA
Cattaro
Prizren
Skopje
BULGARIA
Turnovo
Beroe
Philippopolis
Stenimachos
Klokotnitsa
Agathopolis
Adrianople
Melnik
Didymoteichon
Dyrrachion
Prosek
Ohrid
(Achrida)
MACEDONIA
Serres
Tzouroullos
THRACE
Constantinople
Thessalonike
Kastoria
Berroia
Nicaea
BITHYNIA
Abydos
EPIROS
Ioannina
THESSALY
Atramyttion
Arta
Pergamon
0
50
100 km

Chapter 7
Serbia's View of the Byzantine World (1204–1261)*

Ljubomir Maksimović

During the quarter of the century that preceded 1204, the fateful year for the Byzantine Empire, Serbia made significant advances in the development of a specific idea of the state, which was Byzantine in essence but autochthonous in its external forms. In an agreement concluded with Ragusa in 1192, Byzantium for the first time regarded Serbia as an independent power;[1] this view, however, was neither confirmed nor refuted in the period preceding the fall of the capital into the hands of the crusaders. Throughout the latter half of the twelfth century Constantinople made it quite clear that the grand zhupan of Serbia was to be considered not only a dependent ruler, but also a ruler who governed his own territories by permission of the emperor of Byzantium.[2] In case the ruler thus empowered was not completely compliant, his policy was to be treated as a rebellion (ἀποστασία).[3] The Serbian view, on the other hand, implied continuous struggle for the attainment of an independent role on the Balkans, and even on the European political scene.[4] This opposition to the interests of Byzantium involved reliance on other powers, such as Hungary, Venice, the Normans, Germany.

Relations thawed towards the end of the century, when the Serbian heir apparent Stefan Nemanjić married the emperor's niece and was given the title of *sebastokrator*.[5] Soon after, his father Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the

* This chapter contains some results of research that has been connected to project no. 147028 – *The Byzantine World in Change (10th–13th Centuries)* –, supported by the Serbian Ministry of Sciences and Development in Technology.

1 Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 2 (Munich–Berlin, 1925), no. 1611.

2 Ljubomir Maksimović, 'Byzantinische Herrscherideologie und Regierungsmethoden im Falle Serbien. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des byzantinischen Commonwealth', Πολύπλευρος νοῦς. *Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Byzantinisches Archiv, 19 (Munich–Leipzig, 2000), pp. 174–92.

3 Ibid., pp. 178–9.

4 *Istorija srpskog naroda* [*A History of the Serbian Nation*] (Belgrad, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 197–211, 251–62 (Jovanka Kalić).

5 Ljubomir Maksimović, 'L'idéologie du souverain dans l'État serbe et la construction de Studenica', in Vojislav Korać (ed.), *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*

dynasty, resigned the throne in his favour, and both father and son asserted their independent rule in identical words in the two charters they issued separately to the newly founded (Serbian) monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos. This rule was granted to them by God, the charters stated, for God gave emperors to the Greeks, kings to the Hungarians, and grand zhupans sprung from one family to the Serbs.[6] Soon afterwards, at the end of the century, Stefan Nemanjić, inspired by this vision, asked Pope Innocent III to grant him the royal crown as a symbol of the independence of his state.[7] The request was almost agreed when the Hungarians interfered and ensured its denial, but it shows, nevertheless, that on the eve of 1204 Serbia already regarded Byzantium as a foreign power outside its own boundaries.

It is important to point out that all the Serbian sources relative to this time, apart from the two charters mentioned above, come from authors whose works were written after 1204. Some of these writers played a prominent role even before 1204 (the first generation of authors), while the others derived their knowledge of the state of affairs from earlier texts (the second generation of authors). It is also important to note that the texts in question are biographies of rulers, or, to put it more precisely, hagiobiographies, which represent an important and specific genre of Serbian medieval literature, in which ideological and factual claims are sometimes interwoven in odd combinations.[8] But on the other hand, one should always remember that in the first generation the most prominent authors were at the same time leaders of the country – the first archbishop Sava and the first king Stefan (Prvovenčani, 'the First-Crowned') –, both of them very well acquainted with its position within the Byzantine world. In the second generation of authors, the most prominent were two Athonite monks – Domentian and Theodosios – who took part in the main stream of Byzantine influence from Mount Athos to Serbia. So in the thirteenth century all these authors represented the best Serbia had at that time both in terms of intellectual level and knowledge of the Byzantine World.[9] Other types of thirteenth-century sources – official documents, legal texts or literary works – are very scant and do not contain information that could be used

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(Belgrade, 1988), pp. 37, 39ff. (with a complete bibliography).

6 Louis Petit and Basile Korablev (eds), 'Actes de Chilandar II. Actes slaves', *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 19 (1915): pp. 370–651 (reprinted Amsterdam, 1975), no. 3, lines 5–12, 39–41, and no. 2, lines 5–13, 71–2. For other editions and the ideological meaning, see Maksimović, 'L'idéologie du souverain', p. 36.

7 Ljubomir Maksimović, 'La Serbie et les contrées voisines avant et après la IV^e^ croisade', in Angeliki Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris, 2005), pp. 274–5.

8 Stanislaus Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter. Altserbische Herrscherbiographien* (Graz–Vienna–Cologne, 1962–76), vol. 1, pp. 15ff., and vol. 2, pp. 43ff.

9 For the literary work and all the activities of four authors see Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti* [*A History of the Old Serbian Literature*] (Belgrade, 1980), pp. 143–56, 156–63, 168–75.

in a discussion of prosopography. The only exceptions (of which more will be said presently) are a well-known inscription in the monastery of Studenica and a fresco representing a Byzantine emperor in the monastery of Mileševa, whose identity was not established for a long time.

The biographical works dealing with members of the Nemanjić dynasty conform in the main to the ideological basis implied in the two charters of its earliest rulers – the founder of the dynasty and his son, who was to become the first king of Serbia. In these works, the Byzantines are styled Greeks, their state is called an empire, and Constantinople is generally regarded as the symbol of that empire.[10] The Serbs are said to have their own state, whose ruler is a *samodržac* (αὐτοκράτωρ) invested by God. Although this designation became the official one only with the proclamation of the kingdom (1217), it was applied retroactively to the grand zhupans as well.[11] The authority of both kings and grand zhupans is defined as imperial (*carska*).[12] Both terms suggest a recognized right to sovereignty, and it is therefore not strange that during the thirteenth century the Serbs began to look upon their country as the New Israel.[13] It is obvious that terms generally familiar among the Slavs were used carefully in Serbian political theory.

Firstly, the Byzantines are called Greeks, which is a name the Slavs adopted from Latin at an early date, most likely as early as the sixth century.[14] This name should not be considered an ethnonym, although it is based, in the anthropological sense, on the recognition of the ethnicity that laid the foundations of Byzantine culture. In the eyes of the Serbs a Greek was a Byzantine. In the late Middle Ages, at precisely the period under discussion, the first half of the thirteenth century, a distinction between the *Romaioi* and the *Hellenes* began to be made in Byzantium itself. Some time after the Serbs followed suit – the *Romaioi* were called *Greeks*, and the term *Jelini* (both a thematic and a terminological innovation) was used to denote the ancient Greeks.[15] Here are a few examples: St Sava of Serbia relates in his *Life of Symeon-Nemanja* that Nemanja conquered parts of the 'Greek

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10 For examples, see below.

11 Georgije Ostrogorski, 'Avtokrator i samodržac', *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije*, 164 (1935): pp. 95–187, esp. 142–6, reprinted in Georgije Ostrogorski, *Sabrana dela* [*Collected Works*] (Belgrade, 1970), vol. 4, pp. 281–364, esp. 321–5.

12 Božidar Ferjančić, 'Arhiepiskop Danilo II i Vizantija' [Archbishop Danilo II and Byzantium], in Vojislav Djurić (ed.), *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba* (Belgrade, 1991), pp. 13–15; Ljubomir Maksimović, 'L'empire de Stefan Dušan: genèse et caractère', *Travaux et mémoires*, 14 (2002) (*Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*): p. 418.

13 Boško I. Bojović, *L'idéologie monarchique dans les hagio-biographies dynastiques du Moyen Âge serbe* (Rome, 1995), cf. index, s.v.

14 Ljubomir Maksimović, 'Značenje reči "Grk" i "Jelin" u srpskim srednjovekovnim izvorima' [The Meaning of the Words 'Grk' and 'Jelin' in Serbian Medieval Sources], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 38 (1999–2000): p. 216, n. 2.

15 Ibid., pp. 215–26.

territory', which is a synonym of Byzantium;[16] a passage in another biography of the same ruler, by Stefan the First-Crowned, states that after Nemanja's accession to the throne he was threatened by the Greek soldiers, *Fruzi* (Franks, which means Latins) and Turks, whom his hostile brothers had gathered in 'the Greek Empire';[17] the *Life of St Sava* by Domentian contains references to rumours that were spread 'throughout the Greek Empire', as well as to journeys to various 'parts of the Greek territory';[18] the *Life of St Symeon* by the same author mentions 'the Empire of the Greeks', 'the land of the Greeks' and 'the entire territory of the Greek Empire';[19] the slightly later *Life of St Sava* by Theodosios refers to the frontier of the Byzantine state as 'the boundary of the Greek dominion'.[20]

Secondly, the emperor and Constantinople (the Slavonic name – *Carigrad* – is also used) are treated as the most important symbols of the empire before 1204, which also indicates a familiarity with its internal political constellation. Thus the *Life of Symeon* by Stefan the First-Crowned refers to Manuel I Komnenos as 'the pious Emperor Manuel from the City of Constantine',[21] although he waged frequent wars on the Serbs, while Andronikos I Komnenos is described as 'another emperor, cruel and bloodthirsty' who appeared later in 'the City of Constantine' (in Domentian's version, 'cruel emperor from the City of Constantine').[22] Other descriptions, found in various biographies, include 'the great Emperor Michael [VII Doukas]', 'the Emperor of Constantinople', 'Kyr Emperor Alexios [III Angelos]', 'our kind friend, Kyr Alexios [III Angelos], the Emperor of Constantinople', 'Emperor Alexios [III Angelos] who held the Greek sceptre at that time', 'the Eastern Emperor (of Constantinople)'.[23]

Of course, certain modifications were introduced after 1204, but the earlier context did not disappear. On the contrary, it even acquired a new significance, which seems rather surprising to the modern mind. The new order of things is usually merely alluded to, although occasionally there are also explicit references. Thus St Sava writes in his Life of Symeon, 'The Latins took Constantinople, the

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16 *Sveti Sava, Sabrana dela – Život sv. Simeona* [*St Symeon's Life by St Sava*], ed. T. Jovanović (Belgrade, 1998), p. 31.

17 *Stefan Prvovenčani, Život sv. Simeona* [*St Symeon's Life by Stefan the First-Crowned*], ed. T Jovanović (Belgrade, 1999), pp. 28ff.

18 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna i svetoga Save* [*Lives of St Symeon and St Sava by Domentijan*], ed. Dj. Daničić (Belgrade, 1865), pp. 154 and 328 = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. T. Jovanović (Belgrade, 2001), pp. 70, 400.

19 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, pp. 17, 23, 27, 53.

20 *Teodosije Hilandarac, Život sv. Save* [*St Sava's Life by Teodosije Hilandarac*], ed. Dj. Daničić, reed. Dj. Trifunović (Belgrade, 1973), p. 40.

21 *Stefan Prvovenčani, Život sv. Simeona*, ed. Jovanović, p. 21.

22 Ibid., p. 37; *Domentijan, Život svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 22.

23 *Domentijan, Život svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, pp. 5, 55, 70 (Symeon), 160, 336 (Sava) = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, pp. 82, 416; *Teodosije Hilandarac*, ed. Daničić, p. 46.

former Greek land',[24] and Theodosios, a later author, speaking of the period around 1228, says that 'the City of Constantine is held by the *Fruzi* (Franks) and the Greek Empire is cleft into two: Emperor Theodore [Angelos Doukas Komnenos] rules from Salonica over Thessaly and Illyria, while the pious Emperor John Batatzes holds sway in Pontos, Galatia and Bithynia'.[25]

The general practice, however, was to allude to the situation, not to comment upon it. Thus we find simple statements such as the Serbs were attacked by 'someone of the Greek nation, of imperial birth, named Michael [I Angelos] in the country of Dyrrachion [Epiros]',[26] or that Stefan the First-Crowned left the throne to his son Radoslav, 'having married him [to the daughter of] the Greek Emperor Kyr Theodore [Angelos Doukas]'.[27] In his *Life of Sava* Domentian gives an account of Sava Nemanjić's various journeys and says that in 1219 he 'went to the East to his friend the emperor of Constantinople kyr Theodore called Laskaris', seeking to obtain the independent Serbian Church, and that he was invested there – on the orders of the emperor and by the oecumenical patriarch Germanos (it should be Manuel Sarantenos) – with the dignity of an autocephalous archbishop.[28] About ten years later, when he was returning from the Holy Land via Asia Minor, Sava was received by 'the pious Emperor John [III Batatzes]' and his 'pious Empress, who had known Sava for a long time, having met him while her father, the pious Emperor Kyr Theodore Laskaris, was still alive'.[29] Resuming his journey, Sava came to Thessalonike, where he met 'his friend (*svat* – relative by marriage) Emperor Kyr Theodore [Angelos Doukas]'.[30] A note at the end of this biography says that it was written 'during the reign of the pious Greek Emperor Kyr Kalojovan (John), who rules both the eastern (Ἀνατολή) and western (Δύσις) lands' and in the time of King Stefan Uroš.[31]

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24 *Sv. Sava, Životi sv. Simeona*, ed. Jovanović, p. 185.

25 *Teodosije Hilandarac*, ed. Daničić, pp. 170–71.

26 *Stefan Prvovenčani, Životi sv. Simeona*, ed. Jovanović, p. 89.

27 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 261 = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, pp. 276–8.

28 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, pp. 219ff. = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, pp. 276–8. The reasons for this 'mistake' as regards the patriarch should also be sought in the conditions that influenced the Serbian *Realpolitik* of the time. Here is not a proper place to discuss the problem, which has been treated recently in an article by Sima Ćirković, 'Domentijanova prosopografija' [Prosopography of Domentijan], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 45 (2008): pp. 141–55.

29 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 277 = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, pp. 312–14.

30 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 280 = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, p. 310.

31 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 344 = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, p. 430.

Two points seem to emerge from this short survey of the Serbian views of the Byzantine world after 1204: one is the tendency to attach greater importance to Nicaea (from which the autocephalous authority was obtained) in comparison with Epiros, and the other is the ideological designation of the old capital, since the memory of Constantinople had to be kept alive as a symbol, even though the town itself was in the hands of foreigners. This emphasis on the designation of Constantinople is particularly striking because it could assume some really extraordinary forms. Not only could Theodore Laskaris of Nicaea be styled, as mentioned earlier, the emperor of Constantinople, but we also find a direct statement, like that in Theodosios' *Life of St Sava* (a work, it is true, written a little later, but based on earlier sources) that Sava 'went to the imperial City of Constantine, in which Emperor Theodore Laskaris ruled at that time' in order to be invested archbishop.[32] Moreover, the author makes another confusing statement, though of a different nature, by saying that the emperor received Sava in a friendly fashion 'because the daughter of Emperor Theodore Laskaris was married to Radoslav, the son of Stefan, who was St Sava's nephew'.[33] In fact, however, the father and emperor in question was not Theodore Laskaris of Nicaea, but his namesake, Theodore Angelos Doukas Komnenos of Epiros.[34]

Returning to this question of the Constantinopolitan 'obsession', we may note that it can assume an even more drastic form than in the instance given above. The *Life of Symeon* by Stefan the First-Crowned describes the conflict with the Latin emperor Henry of Flanders (1214/15) as a conflict with 'the Greek Emperor called *Filandar*', or, in another passage, 'the Greek emperor called *Jeris Filandar*'.[35] As a contemporary of Henry of Flanders and a ruler who conducted international policy on an extensive scale, Stefan the First-Crowned was certainly very well acquainted with the current constellation of the Balkan powers, so this cannot be explained as a mistake, but must be understood as a clear indication of a political, or even ideological, approach. Each ruler in Constantinople was regarded as a Byzantine (or, in Serbian terminology, Greek) emperor. According to this view, the Latin Empire could be only one form of the Byzantine Empire, and for the Serbs

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32 *Teodosije Hilandarac*, ed. Daničić, pp. 126–32. In this story we see Patriarch Germanos mentioned again, instead of Patriarch Manuel Sarantenos. For the reasons, see above, note 28.

33 Ibid., p. 126.

34 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 261. After some controversies, the date (end 1219 / beginning 1220) of this marriage was resolved by Sotirios Kisas, 'O vremenu sklapanja braka Stefana Radoslava i Ane Komnine' [On the Date of the Marriage of Stephen Radoslav and Anna Komnene], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 18 (1978): pp. 131–9.

35 *Život Simeona Nemanje od Stefana Prvovenčanog* [*The Life of Symeon Nemanja by Stefan the First-Crowned*], ed. V. Ćorović (Belgrade, 1938), p. 59, lines 9–10, and p. 71, lines 1–3 = *Stefan Prvovenčani, Život sv. Simeona*, ed. Jovanović, pp. 80, 100. For comments, see Maksimović, 'Značenje reči "Grk" i "Jelin"', p. 219.

Filandar (Henry of Flanders) was therefore nothing else but a Greek emperor. The discrepancy between this construct of political theory and reality is revealed by the word *called*, which was never used for a real Byzantine emperor residing in the imperial capital.

Another aspect of this ideological approach may be called historical, for though largely associated with values from the period before 1204, it dates from a later time, more precisely from the time of Stefan the First-Crowned, the first king of Serbia (up to 1228), and of his son Radoslav (1228–34). It occurred when Sava brought the relics of Stefan Nemanja-Symeon from the Serbian Athonite monastery of Chilandar at the beginning of 1207 and deposited them in the monastery of Studenica. He became its new hegoumenos and initiated the process of his father's canonization in that shrine, which was designed as a mausoleum of the dynasty.[36] The following year (1208) saw the beginning of the decoration of Studenica, as testified by an inscription running round the base of the dome. It states that the church, which is dedicated to the Virgin, was built in the time of Stefan Nemanja, called Symeon after he had taken monastic orders, at those times the great zhupan and '*svat* (meaning father-in-law of the daughter) of the Greek emperor Kyr Alexios [III Angelos]', and that it was fully completed and decorated at the initiative of (hegoumenos) 'Sava the sinful' in the time of Symeon's sons, the great zhupan and sebastokrator Stefan and the grand prince (knez) Vukan.[37]

This insistence on the kinship with Alexios, at a time when Stefan's marriage with his daughter had long been dissolved and when the Byzantium of the Angeloi had disappeared, could only have an ideological meaning. The situation is encapsulated in the words an old man allegedly addressed to Sava when Chilandar was given to the Serbs by Alexios III (1198): '... in your country you are independent rulers (*samodržci*) and in your body you are kin to those who hold the imperial sway now'.[38] Later in 1217 Stefan obtained the royal insignia from Rome, but the bond with the late emperor of Byzantium, who had presented Chilandar to the Serbs, continued to be cherished.

As noted above, Stefan's son and heir Stefan Radoslav married the daughter of Theodore I Doukas, the ruler of Epiros, who belonged to the family of the Angeloi. Thus Radoslav signed himself Στέφανος ῥὴξ ὁ Δούκας on a document issued towards the end of his reign,[39] but when he was the prince-heir he also ordered the figure of Alexios III Angelos to be painted, as recent research has shown, opposite the portraits of himself and his father (still the king) in the monastery of

36 Ljubomir Maksimović, 'O godini prenosa Nemanjinih moštiju u Srbiju' [On the Year of Transfer of Nemanja's Relics to Serbia], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 24/25 (1986): pp. 437–44.

37 Maksimović, 'L'idéologie du souverain', p. 44.

38 *Teodosije Hilandarac*, ed. Daničić, p. 49.

39 Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii* (Vienna, 1858; reprinted Graz, 1964), no. 23, p. 20.

Mileševa.[40] Except for Constantine the Great, who is a case apart, this is the only portrait of a Byzantine emperor on Serbian soil.[41] Later on, in the time of Vladislav (1234–43), who leaned on Bulgaria, and of Uroš I (1243–76), who turned to the Western powers for support and married a French princess, this tendency to view the post-1204 Byzantine world through the memories of the fallen empire began to wane.

The thirteenth-century Serbian sources relative to the period preceding the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in 1261 generally provide a picture of the disintegrated political world of the Byzantines in a mixture of reality and a political theory that was, in the given circumstances, half-mythic. The powerful image of the former empire was still dominant and efforts were made to bring the reality of the debilitated and divided Byzantine world into conformity with that image. In all this the feeling, still expressed with some diffidence, of equality with that world clearly played a certain role. The political ideals of independent Serbia were therefore associated with the empire that had disappeared rather than with its remains, which were not deemed sufficiently worthy. It is therefore not strange that it was precisely in the thirteenth century that the idea of Serbia as a New Israel emerged, whose origin is also traceable to the Byzantine outlook. Discernible in all this, as a specific influence of the past, is the greater learning of Serbian authors, already direct products of a Byzantine, chiefly ecclesiastical, education.

Hence we find in the works of these authors a terminology that tells us more about their learning than about the real state of affairs in their time. Thus it could happen that the Bulgarians are called Goths,[42] that Emperor Theodore of Thessalonike is referred to as the ruler of Illyria, and his rival in Nicaea John III Batatzes is described as the ruler of Pontos, Galatia and Bithynia;[43] that Nemanja's lands are stated to border on Illyricum,[44] or that Sava is said to have consorted in Latin Thessalonike not only with the metropolitan, but also with the *hyparchos* of the entire region, in other words, with the *praefectus* of the *praefectura* of Illyricum! And allegedly Nemanja, too, had corresponded with the same official.[45] Particularly remarkable is the fact that the territory round *Carigrad* is designated *Byzantium* in the *Life of Sava* by Domentian.[46] If all this makes us regret that we have no more sources of a documentary nature that might help us in our search for the realia of those times, we should do well to remember that Serbian thirteenth-

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40 Božidar Ferjančić and Ljubomir Maksimović, 'Sveti Sava i Srbija izmedju Epira i Nikeje' [St Sava and Serbia between Epiros and Nicaea], in Sima Ćirković (ed.), *Saint Sava in Serbian History and Tradition* (Belgrade, 1998), pp. 21–2.

41 Ibid., p. 21, n. 35.

42 *Teodosije Hilandarac*, ed. Daničić, pp. 103ff., 107.

43 Ibid., pp. 170–71.

44 Ibid., p. 3.

45 Ibid., p. 136.

46 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 328 = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, p. 400.

century documents, which provide no information on the subject discussed here, are not very accurate and that even such an important element as the titles added to the rulers' signature were not always precisely defined.[47] It may be said, nevertheless, that our sources reflect the essential state of affairs, although it is necessary to get to know the corresponding codes in order to understand them fully. Such circumstances show similarities with the Byzantine style of education and ideology, which could not be a mere coincidence.[48]

The character of the sources and the interests of their authors, described above, result in a corresponding prosopography of the participants in the events mentioned in these sources. Apart from a few emperors and a patriarch (as I have shown), who are indubitable protagonists in these developments, and the Bulgarian nobleman Strez from the Vardar valley, whose defection obviously profoundly upset the political plans of Serbia in the early decades of the thirteenth century,[49] only some ecclesiastics are mentioned by name. They include men with whom the protagonists of the biographical works, primarily Sava Nemanjić, had some direct contacts, such as father Makarios,[50] Sava's teacher in Vatopedi; hegoumenos Theostyriktos in the same monastery;[51] Nicholas, bishop of Hierissos, who ordained Sava; the metropolitan of Thessalonike, Kostadije (Constantine) and the three bishops, Nicholas, Michael and Demetrios,[52] who performed the rite of the laying of hands when Sava became an archimandrite; and the *protos* of Athos Domentios.[53]

We should finally answer the question: in what form and to what extent are the sources used here accessible to us? All the texts cited here are written, of course, in the medieval Serbian–Slavonic language and in the Cyrillic script. In spite of their importance, they have not had the same fate. Some are available in recent critical editions; others can be found only in more or less outdated editions,

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47 See Ljubomir Maksimović, 'Kanzleiwesen der serbischen Herrscher', in Christian Hannick (ed.), *Kanzleiwesen und Kanzleisprachen im östlichen Europa* (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 1999), pp. 25–54.

48 See Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti*, pp. 30ff., 34ff, 57ff.

49 Radivoj Radić, 'Oblasni gospodari u Vizantiji krajem XII i u prvim decenijama XIII veka' [Local Rulers in Byzantium at the End of the Twelfth Century and in the First Decades of the Thirteenth Century], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 24–5 (1986): pp. 223–34 (includes a complete bibliography); Radivoj Radić, 'Sveti Sava i smrt oblasnog gospodara Streza' [St Sava and the Death of the Local Ruler Strez], in Ćirković (ed.), *Saint Sava in Serbian History*, pp. 51–62.

50 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 135 = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, p. 34; *Teodosije Hilandarac*, ed. Daničić, pp. 29ff.

51 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 55.

52 Ibid., pp. 191, 226 = *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save*, ed. Jovanović, pp. 142 and 212; *Teodosije Hilandarac*, ed. Daničić, pp. 75–7.

53 *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna*, ed. Daničić, p. 87.

some of which were published around the middle of the nineteenth century.[54] The older editions have no commentary whatsoever, and a common deficiency of the more recent editions is their scant historical and comparatively meagre literary–historical apparatus. We do have, however, very good translations of all the texts into modern Serbian. They were included in various publications or were published individually in a small number of copies. Since they have been out of print for a long time, they are not easily obtainable, not to speak about the problem of their usefulness for foreign readers. There are also some German translations, which were prepared by the Centre for Slavonic Studies in Graz (Austria) from the middle and in the latter half of the twentieth century. A few of them are useful for those dedicating themselves to the study of the prosopography of the region in the period after 1204.[55]

Appendix
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Domentijan, Životi svetoga Simeuna i svetoga Save [*Lives of St Symeon and St Sava by Domentijan*], ed. Dj. Daničić (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1865)

[54] See the summarizing survey of the corresponding data in the Appendix to the present chapter.

[55] For bibliographical data, cf. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter* (see above, note 8), Literaturverzeichnis.

= *Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save* [just one of the two lives], ed. T. Jovanović (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 2001).
Teodosije Hilandarac, Životi sv. Save [*St Sava's Life by Teodosije Hilandarac*], ed. Dj. Daničić (Belgrade, 1860), ed. Dj. Trifunović (Belgrade, 1973).
Teodosije, Žitija [*Teodosije, Lives*], ed. D. Bogdanović (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1988).

Translations into Modern Serbian

Sv. Sava, Sabrani spisi [*St Sava, Collected Works*], transl. L. Mirković and D. Bogdanović (Belgrade: Prosveta Srpska književna zadruga, 1986).
Stefan Prvovenčani, Sabrani spisi [*Stefan the First-Crowned, Collected Works*], transl. Lj. Juhas-Georgijevska (Belgrade: Prosveta Srpska književna zadruga, 1988).
Domentijan, Životi Svetoga Save i Svetoga Simeona [*Lives of St Symeon and St Sava by Domentian*], transl. L. Mirković (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1938; reprinted 1970; reprinted and arranged by R. Marinković, 1988).
Domentijan, Žitije svetoga Save [*St Sava's Life*], transl. Lj. Juhas-Georgievska and T. Jovanović (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 2001).
Teodosije, Život sv. Save [*Teodosije, The Life of St Sava*], transl. L. Mirković, revised by D. Bogdanović (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1984).

Chapter 8
Thirteenth-century Byzantine 'Metallic' Identities*

Cécile Morrisson

Individual identities are constructed within a social and political framework from a combination of elements that in turn contribute to building them. The flourishing literature of the thirteenth century provides rich evidence for the construction and expression of the individual identity of great authors like Niketas Choniates, Nicholas Mesarites and other contemporaries, in reaction to the dramatic collapse of 1204, notably the prevailing nostalgia for the oecumenical/universal past grandeur of the *Romaioi* and the emerging conscience of their Hellenic heritage and superior culture.[1] Several papers in the present colloquium and in the many anniversary ones of 2004 dealt with this subject, which lies beyond the limited scope of the present chapter. It will rather consider the Byzantine identity encapsulated on coins and seals in the first half of the thirteenth century, what seventeenth-century scholars, intent on commemorative strikes, called *histoire métallique*. The iconography of coins and seals is conspicuously and essentially conservative, slow to change, but it also remains a formal, undisputable and well-dated expression of political self-representation and identity. The 1204 trauma that had aggravated and completed the fragmentation already underway in several regions by the 1180s led to a disintegration that naturally also affected the various coinages of the smaller successor states, including the Latin Empire. Examining their iconography allows us to follow the evolution of their imperial, royal and national identities and their transformation from purely Byzantine-modelled ones

* The special fonts used in this chapter for seal and coin inscriptions were first created by the late Professor Nicolas Oikonomides in 1986 and subsequently enriched by Glenn Ruby and the Publications Department of Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC. The editors are grateful to Dumbarton Oaks' Program in Byzantine Studies for graciously releasing these fonts for use in scholarly publications and databases.

[1] See the penetrating analysis by Dimiter Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007), and his contribution 'Byzantine ideological reactions to the Latin conquest of Constantinople', in Angeliki Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris 2005), pp. 293–310.

into cross-cultural expressions influenced by the western and eastern traditions of their neighbours or invaders.[2]

The Persistence of the Byzantine Model in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century

The unified currency of the Comnenian era, and especially the issues of Manuel I, one of which had become a common name because of its abundance and popularity,[3] provided the model for the coinages issued by the successor states immediately after their establishment or later. The following table sums up the framework and chronology of these issues.

In the twelfth century all emperors exclusively used the title of *despotes* on their coins and seals, although this was not technically the supreme one but only the highest of court ranks, and one generally bestowed on the presumptive heir to the throne.[4] *Basileus, autokrator* or *augoustos*, which had been used occasionally in the preceding period, totally disappeared. Following the habit that had been started on the silver coins with Constantine IX Monomachos and was systematically applied on all denominations from Constantine X Doukas onwards, Alexios I also added his family name, Komnenos, to the title of *despotes*, while his heirs John II and Manuel I were content with the proud supplement of *porphyrogennetos* (Fig. 8.1). Surprisingly both Andronikos I and Isaac of Cyprus, who could legitimately use the Komnenos patronym and benefit from its prestige, reverted to a simplistic titulature (*Andronikos despotes*; *Isaakios despotes*), a practice followed by Isaac II (Fig. 8.2) and Alexios III Angelos – the latter only in the first part of his reign (Fig. 8.3). Isaac's only allusion to his family name was an indirect one: he featured the archangel Michael beside him as a kind of canting type, probably appealing to the common people even if they were illiterate, and readily understood by the learned users of precious metal coins because of the prevalence of the comparisons and

[2] The following outline does not pretend to any comprehensiveness and refers the reader throughout to the main reference work: Michael F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. 4, *1081–1261* (Washington, DC, 1999).

[3] Latin documents term *manuelati* not only the electrum *nomismata trikephala* of Manuel but also the *trikephala* of his successors. This is made quite clear by the mention of *ducenti manulatos angellatos* in a Venetian document of 1223 recently studied by Guillaume Saint-Guillain, 'L'apocalypse et le sens des affaires. Les moines de Saint-Jean de Patmos, leurs activités économiques et leurs relations avec les Latins (XIII[e] et XIV[e] siècles)', in Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès and Dominique Valérian (eds), *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard* (Paris, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 765–90.

[4] Hendy, *Catalogue*, p. 140.

metaphors in court orations of the reign.[5] But in the later part of his reign Alexios III added to his monetary titulature the name of Komnenos, to which he was loosely entitled as great grandson of Alexios I.[6]

Table 8.1 A Summary of the Successor-States' Coinage[a]

State or principality	**Date of creation**	**Coinage and dates**		
		Gold	Silver (or Electrum)	Copper
Bulgaria[b]	1185	1230–41	none	1230ff.
Latin Empire	1204	*c.*1230 ?ff	none	1204–61
Trebizond[c]	1204	none	1222ff.	1222ff.
Epiros	*c.*1205	none	*c.*1205	1236–68
Nicaea	1208 (coronation)	1227?–61	*c.*1210–61	*c.*1210–61
Serbia (in Ras)	1217	none	1228–33	1228–33
Serbia	1217 (coronation)	none	1276[d]	–
Thessalonike	1227	none	1227–	1227
Rhodes (Gabalades)	*c.*1235	none	none	*c.*1235–*c.*1250
Frankish Greece	1205	none	1267	*c.*1240

a. Data from Hendy, *Catalogue*, unless otherwise stated.

b. The 'Bulgarian imitative' (or 'faithful copies') issues dating to *c.*1195 and later are not taken into consideration, because of their debated attribution.

c. On the first signed coins issued by Andronikos I Gidon (1222–35) see Simon Bendall, 'An Early Coinage of the "Empire" of Trebizond?', *Numismatic Circular*, 110/3 (2002): pp. 113–15; Simon Bendall, 'A Further Note on a Possible Early Coinage of the Empire of Trebizond', *Numismatic Circular*, 114 (2006): pp. 208–10.

d. Vujadin Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo srednovekovne Srbije (Serbian Medieval Coinage)* (Belgrade, 2001) demonstrated that regular silver coinage did not begin with Stefan Uroš (1243–76) as usually stated but with Stefan Dragutin (1276–82).

Despotes continued to prevail in the thirteenth century. With no exception, all rulers with imperial claims employed this title: the Laskarids and later the Palaiologan emperors, as well as the Komnenoi Doukai in Thessalonike, or Andronikos Gidon (1222–35) in Trebizond (Fig. 8.4),[7] and one may assume that

[5] See Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 8 (1982): pp. 123–83, here p. 153 with reference to an epigram of Balsamon and other texts.

[6] See the comment by Niketas Choniates on the change of names, which he places at the beginning of the reign: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I.A. van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin–New York, 1975), vol 1, p. 478. Hendy, *Catalogue*, vol. 4/1, pp. 400–401, shows that the change features later on the various denominations of the coinage, when the new indiction began in 1197.

[7] See e.g. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, pp. 118–19.

John Asen II had this in mind when he used *tsar* on his hyperpyron (Fig. 8.5).[8] Conversely, other rulers who did not have such high pretensions either mentioned their actual title, like *rix* for Stefan Radoslav[9] and *kaisar* for Leo Gabalas, or simply *authentès tès Rhodou* for the latter's brother and successor John,[10] or like the despots of Epiros were content with their surname and family name.

The prestige of the Komnenos dynasty could legitimately be claimed only by the 'Grand Komnenoi' of Trebizond who signed their coins in this way from Manuel I (1238–63) onwards,[11] but this desire was a trend that found other diverse expressions mainly through processes of immobilization or imitation. Immobilization implies retaining a coin design and/or inscription after its details have ceased to be appropriate. This happened with the hyperpyra of John II Komnenos showing the emperor standing blessed by the Virgin, accompanied with the legend Ἰωάννῃ δεσπότῃ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ that was copied by John III Batatzes in Magnesia (Fig. 8.10) and later by the Latins (Fig. 8.7).[12] While John III was playing on the homonymy of his first name, the Latins were probably only copying his issues[13] and producing them at a reduced standard. The reasons behind the reuse of the Komnenian type may have had as much to do with a financial and economic situation as with politics: copying hyperpyra of the 1120s–1140s was designed to benefit from their reputation of purity, although the 'Nicaean' coins and the Latin ones were at least two carats lower (18 to 16⅔ carats against approximately 20 carats under John II). The Komnenos name also featured, though in blundered or abbreviated form, on several 'Latin imitations', identified

8 Iordanka N. Iurukova and Vladimir M. Penčev, *Bălgarski srednovekovni pečati i moneti* (Sofia, 1990), pp. 80–81 (colour photograph), and pl. IV, 34a–b = Hendy, *Catalogue*, pl. XLVIII.

9 Hendy, *Catalogue*, pp. 637–8, nos. 1–3 and pl. XLVII.

10 Ibid., p. 650 and pl. XLVIII.

11 Manuel I signs his silver and bronze coins ὁ Κομνηνός or Κομνηνὸς Δούκας: Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals ... and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London, 1911), pp. 236–37, nos. 1–7, although on other media his full entitulature included the complete formula βασιλεύς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων.

12 *Perperi latini* are listed and described by Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA, 1936), pp. 287–9. For John III and other hyperpyra, beyond Hendy, *Catalogue*, see also Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, 'Les hyperpères de type de Jean III Vatatzès – classification, chronologie et évolution du titre (à la lumière du trésor d'Uzun Baïr, dép. de Tulcea)', in Mihaela Iacob, Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu and Florin Topoleanu (eds), *Istro-Pontica. Museul Tulcean la a 50-a aniversare 1950–2000. Omagiu lui Simion Gavrilă la 45 de ani de activitate 1955–2000* (Tulcea, 2000), pp. 499–561; Eleni Lianta, 'John II Comnenus (1118–43) or John III Batatzes (1222–54)? (Distinguishing the Hyperpyra of John II from those of John III)', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, 166 (2006): pp. 269–99.

13 Unless they were also punning on the homonymy with John of Brienne (see below, note 19).

for the first time by M. Hendy, namely on the so-called 'Constantinople Large Module' types L (Fig. 8.8) and V[14] and on the so-called 'Thessalonica Large module type B'.[15] The prevalence, however, in these series of coins issued in the name of Manuel may be taken as further evidence of the prestige of the dynasty in the person of its last brilliant emperor: out of the 20 types listed by Hendy,[16] six include *Manuel despotes* or *Manuel porphyrogennetos*,[17] while four others use other Komnenian first names, one Alexios, two John, one Andronikos and two the general imperial name of Constantine as a compromise.[18] As in the case of John III's hyperpyra, it may be assumed, following M. Hendy, that types N and O with the inscription Ἰωάννῃ δεσπότῃ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ were intended as a punning allusion to the coincidence with the name of the reigning emperor-regent John of Brienne (1231–37).[19]

So much for the 'Komnenian heritage' element in the identities of thirteenth-century Byzantine rulers. A surprising element, however, has not been noticed so far: namely the fact that, except among the Trebizond rulers, it was not the Comnenian ascent that mattered, but that from the Doukai. Theodore Komnenos Doukas thus inscribed a stamenon struck in 1229–30 *Komnenos ho Doukas*[20] and a rare half-tetarteron as *Komnenos*,[21] while more than half of the coins he struck in Thessalonike would advertise the Doukas name only as the unique half-tetarteron with the inscription +ΘЄΟΔ|ѠΡΟCЄΝΧѠ|ΤѠΘЄѠΠΙCΤΟC|ΒΑCΙΛЄVCΚΑΙ|ΑVΤ ΟΚΡΑΤѠΡ|ΡѠΜΑΙѠΝΟ|ΔȣΚΑC (Θεόδωρος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Δούκας) (Fig. 8.20).

Curiously, his successors Manuel (1230–37) and John (1237–42 and 1242–44) dispensed completely with their patronym on coins – one wonders if they wished to drop its assumption by John III Batatzes. However, a beautiful seal[22] (Fig. 8.9) of John Komnenos Doukas representing on its obverse the emperor as a smaller figure protected by a taller St Demetrios, and the crenellated walls of Thessalonike at right in the background, displayed on the reverse the full array of the names of the dynasty:

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14 Hendy, *Catalogue*, p. 680, no. 12, and pp. 688–9, no. 22, respectively.

15 Ibid., p. 691, no. 25.

16 In fact 22 are described, but type H belongs to Andronikos I Gidon in Trebizond and type Q should be attributed to Epiros according to Pagona Papadopoulou.

17 Types A, B, D, E, F? and G (Hendy, *Catalogue*, pp. 673–7, nos. 1–2, 4–7).

18 Types J and K (ibid., pp. 679–80, nos. 10 and 11) with the inscription ИѠϪ.

19 Ibid., pp. 664–5.

20 Ibid., type G, pp. 559–61, nos. 10a.1–10d.2.

21 Ibid., type B, p. 563, no. 14.

22 DO collection no. 55.1.4356 = George Zacos and Alexander Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 (Basle, 1972), no. 115. Illustration in Cécile Morrisson, 'The Emperor, the Saint, and the City: Coinage and Money in Thessalonike from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 57 (2003): pp. 173–203, no. 15.

+IѠЄ[N] |XPICTѠTѠ|ΘЄѠПICTOCR|ACIΛЄVCKAIAV|
TOKPATOPPѠ|MЄѠNKOMNH|NOCOΔOVK|AC
Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμέων Κομνηνὸς ὁ Δούκας.

In Nicaea at the same time, John III had consistently inscribed most of his coins and seals with the name of Doukas (Fig. 8.11),[23] while his predecessor Theodore I (1208–1221) had advertised his Komnenos parentage twice in association with his Laskaris patronym on three of his ten or so issues in silver and copper (Fig. 8.12).[24] John III Batatzes was probably entitled through his mother (a second cousin of Emperor Isaac II Angelos) to assume the Doukas name. However, his right to do so is less interesting than the reasons behind his choice.[25]

In the context following 1204, the dynastic element in the rulers' identity assumed a renewed and increased importance in the self-representation of the competitors as a characterization of their respective claims: Komnenos could not be taken from the rulers in Trebizond (who monopolized it) and its prestige in the public may have been tarnished by the errors and excesses of Andronikos I, whose memory was far from a blessed one. On the contrary, Doukas was intimately associated with the most prestigious representatives of the Komnenos dynasty and could even be considered of more ancient origin and illustriousness. Its *ananeosis* may thus have sounded a good omen for the emerging dominant power of John III, and it was only natural that Theodore II used Doukas as his father had on the majority of his issues, thus asserting the name of the new dynasty and its prestigious origin while at the same time underlining his own legitimacy by his *porphyrogennetos* title on his hyperpyra.[26] It is important that he chose, however, to combine the name of Doukas with that of Laskaris, and that he put the latter in the most important place at the end of this titulature. Clearly he wanted to claim his maternal descent from the founder of the Nicaean Empire, already highlighted by the fact that he had been given the first name of his maternal, not paternal, grandfather.[27] Such a stance probably suited Theodore's refusal of aristocratic

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23 Roughly two-thirds of his silver and copper issues.

24 Hendy, *Catalogue*, aspron trachy (B) type G, p. 466, nos. 11.1 and 11.2, aspron trachy (El) type A, p. 456, nos. 1.1 and 1.2, and aspron trachy (B) type B, pp. 461–3, nos. 6.1–6.10.

25 For the marriage of Basil Batatzes with a second cousin (ἐξανεψιά) of Isaac II see *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, vol 1, pp. 400 and 435. For Basil as the father of John III see Demetrios Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), no. 72.

26 A way also of enhancing their similarity with John III (and John II Komnenos) gold coins, of which he reproduced the design.

27 I am grateful to Guillaume Saint-Guillain for drawing my attention to this particular point and for other helpful corrections to my paper.



Figure 8.1 John II Komnenos, hyperpyron with *porphyrogennetos* title, 32mm. Private collection.



Figure 8.2 Isaac II Angelos, hyperpyron, 31mm. Michael F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. 4, *1081–1261* (Washington, DC, 1999), no. 1c (this coin).



Figure 8.3 Alexios III Angelos with the name Komnenos and St Constantine, hyperpyron, 31mm. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins*, vol. 4, no. 1a (this coin).



Figure 8.4 Andronikos I Gidon (1222–35). Gorny & Mosch, Auction 5 March 2007, lot 410, 31mm. Courtesy Gorny & Mosch, Munich.



Figure 8.5 John Asen II, hyperpyron, 30mm. After Iordanka N. Iurukova and Vladimir M. Penčev, *Bălgarski srednovekovni pečati i moneti* (Sofia, 1990), pp. 80–81 and pl. IV, 34.



Figure 8.6 Stefan I Radoslav, trikephalon, 21 mm. Belgrade Museum. Courtesy V. Ivanišević. Cf. Vujadin Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo srednovekovne Srbije* (Belgrade, 2001), no. 01.1.



Figure 8.7 'Latin hyperpyron' (*perpero latino*) with *porphyrogennetos* title, 28mm. Private collection.



Figure 8.8 Latin imitation, type L with blundered Komnenos name on right, 25mm ht, 18mm wd. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins*, vol. 4, no. 12 (this coin).



Figure 8.9 John Komnenos Doukas, lead seal (1237–42), 44mm. Courtesy CNRS, UMR 8167. George Zacos and Alexander Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 (Basle, 1972), no. 115.



Figure 8.10 John III Batatzes (1222–54), Magnesia, hyperpyron, 29mm. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, new acc. BZC 2006.43. Cf. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, no. 3.



Figure 8.11 John III Batatzes (1222–54), Magnesia, electrum trachy/trikephalon, 31mm. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, new acc. BZC 2006.9. Cf. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, no. 32.1.



Figure 8.12 Theodore I Laskaris, Magnesia, electrum trachy/trikephalon with Komnenos and Laskaris titulature, coronation issue (1208), 32mm. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, El. 1.1 (this coin)



Figure 8.13 Baldwin I, Latin emperor, Constantinople, lead seal (1204–1205). Courtrai. After Gustave Schlumberger, 'Sceaux et bulles des empereurs latins de Constantinople', in *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine. Première série* (Paris, 1895), pl. II, 2.



Figure 8.14 Baldwin II, Latin emperor, Constantinople, lead seal (1228–61), 47mm. Ex R. Hecht coll. Cf. J. Nesbitt, A. Wasiliou-Seibt and W. Seibt, *Highlights from the Robert Hecht, Jr., Collection of Byzantine Seals* (Thessalonike, 2010), no. 4. Courtesy W. Seibt.



Figure 8.15 Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), Magnesia, electrum trachy/trikephalon: the emperor with St Tryphon, 30mm. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, no. 6.1 (this coin).



Figure 8.16 Manuel I Komnenos, Trebizond (1238–63), silver aspron with ruler and St Eugenios standing, 22mm. After Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals ... and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London, 1911), pl. XXXIII.4.



Figure 8.17 Alexios II Komnenos, Trebizond (1297–1330), silver aspron with ruler and St Eugenios on horseback, 21mm. After Wroth, *Catalogue*, pl. XXXVIII.4.



Figure 8.18 Pietro Ziani, Venice (1205–1229), silver ducat, approx. 20mm. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 1960.125.1890.



Figure 8.19 Andronikos II, silver basilikon (issued 1304–*c*.1320), 20mm. Cf. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, no. 504 (this coin).



Figure 8.20 Theodore Komnenos Doukas, Thessalonike (1225/27–30), tetarteron: cross crosslet on steps between busts of Theodore and St Demetrius. Rev. with full titulature in seven lines. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, p. 562, no. 11 = DO new acc. BZC 2009.28, ex Protonotarios Coll.



Figure 8.21 Constantine Asen (Tikh), Turnovo (1257–77), billon trachy/stamenon, 20mm. DO new acc. BZC 2003.1. Cf. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, p. 646.



Figure 8.22 Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), dinar: Christ upon throne with back; Stefan seated holding a sword on his knees. Cf. Vujadin Ivaniševiç, *Novčarstvo srednovekovne Srbije* (Belgrade, 2001), no. 3.4. DO new acc. BZC 2003.1. From Füeg coll., Stack's, auction 12 January 2009, lot 3553.

prejudice better, and contributed to distinguish him from the other ruling families in Thessalonike or Trebizond.

Specific identities were not only translated through these various dynastic claims but were also expressed by iconographic reference to special saints. Although the frequent change of monetary types, especially in the empires of Nicaea and Thessalonike, required the use of a great variety of combinations of religious figures,[28] regional or other preferences are undisputable. The most famous of these preferred 'patrons' is of course St Demetrios, who features heavily on Thessalonian coins as well as on John Asen II's coins and seals, for reasons pertaining to religious and civic identity.[29] St Tryphon was venerated in Nicaea, but featured only occasionally in the later years on Nicaean coins[30] (Fig. 8.15) and never assumed the role of an emblematic saint. Theodore I Laskaris certainly insisted on the representation of his namesaint on most of his coins (seven out of ten types in Hendy's catalogue), although it was not as common in Byzantine iconography as we would assume today.[31] In Thessalonike and in the rare issues of Epiros, apart from the prevalent St Demetrius image and various other military saints or the imperial Constantine, the second most frequent image was that of the archangel Michael, or its curious derivation, that of the winged emperor.[32] This drew on the precedent established by Isaac II Angelos, who added the angel or its wings, a refined allusion to the angelic character and protection of rulers related to the family, to which all Thessalonian and Epirot rulers belonged. The last of them, despot Thomas (1297/98–1318), made this quite explicit on a gold bulla, preserved in the British Museum, where he is shown standing in loros with sceptre and akakia within the metric inscription ΑΓΓΕ-ΛΟΓΟ-ΝΟV – CΦΡ-Α ΓΙCΜΑ – ΘѠΜ-Α ΔΕC-ΠΟ-ΤΟѠ – 'seal of Thomas, despot, of Angelos descent' (Ἀγγελογόνου σφράγισμα Θωμᾶ δεσπότου).[33] Finally the Latin issues displayed

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[28] It has been noted that, though increasing compared with the twelfth century, the thirteenth-century numismatic repertoire is limited to a few military or imperial saints; see Jean-Claude Cheynet and Cécile Morrisson, 'Texte et image sur les sceaux byzantins: les raisons d'un choix iconographique', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 4 (1995): pp. 9–32.

[29] See Morrisson, 'The Emperor, the Saint and the City', with references.

[30] Hendy, *Catalogue*, aspron trachy (El) type II, pp. 520–21, nos. 6.1–6.4.

[31] Cheynet and Morrisson, 'Texte et image'.

[32] Tommaso Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Rome, 1951); Cécile Morrisson, 'L'empereur ailé dans la numismatique byzantine: un empereur ange', *Studii şi cercetări di numismatică*, 11 (1995): pp. 191–5; Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore collection*, vol. 5, *1258–1453* (Washington, DC, 1999), pp. 67–8.

[33] Werner Seibt, 'Ein Goldsiegel des Despoten Thomas von Epirus aus dem frühen 14. Jh.', *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 31 (1994): pp. 71–6, fig. 1 = David Buckton (ed.), *Byzantium, Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), pp. 198–9, no. 214.

a full array of Byzantine religious figures, such as the Virgin Hagiosoritissa, St Nicholas, St John Prodromos, St George and St Michael, and only hinted at the Western connection on a few coin types representing St Peter alone with two conspicuous keys or St Peter and St Paul embracing each other.[34] The Latin rulers were much more outspoken on their seals, which were free of the economic and monetary constraints necessary for the acceptance of their coins by the public. The series have been well published and studied: the lead ones by George Zacos and Alexander Veglery, the gold ones principally by Gustave Schlumberger and Adrien Blanchet.[35] Suffice it to record here, without going into greater detail, that the seals of the Latin emperors were from the start bilingual ones and aimed at a dual audience composed of their eastern neighbours, if not of their Greek subjects, as well as their western correspondents. One side had a purely western iconography (the galloping emperor with helmet and shield, holding his unsheathed sword in western fashion like the counts of Flanders and the French feudatories) and a Latin inscription (e.g. BALD·DI:GRĀ·IMPRROMFLANDSHAĪN·CŌM· *Balduinus Dei gratia imperator Romanie Flandrie et Hainonie comes* for Baldwin I, 1204–1205) (Fig. 8.13). The other bore a Greek inscription with the name of the emperor and the *despotes* title around an enthroned figure on a *sella curulis* more French than Byzantine in its inspiration. Later seals of Baldwin II were much more Byzantine in appearance (Fig. 8.14). On the obverse the emperor was shown in a static frontal position, riding, and not galloping, wearing the loros with the Greek inscription BAΛΔΟΙΝΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ C ΠΟΡ[ ]ΓΕΝΝΗ ΤΟC Ο ΦΛΑΝΤΡΑC (Βαλδουίνος δεσπότης πορφυρογέννητος ὁ Φλάντρας – Baldwin of Flanders, *porphyrogennetos*, emperor). On the reverse he wore a loros and not the Western-style cloak of his predecessors, and was sitting on a backless throne with a cushion resembling those shown on many Byzantine coins and not on a *sella curulis*.[36]

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34 Hendy, *Catalogue*, type S, p. 686, no. 19, and type T, pp. 686–7, nos. 20.1–20.9, commented on p. 666.

35 Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1, pp. 102–4, nos. 112–4; Gustave Schlumberger, Ferdinand Chalandon and Adrien Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943). See also Cécile Morrisson, 'Sceaux et bulles des empereurs latins de Constantinople: l'assimilation de l'héritage byzantin', in Inès Villela-Petit (ed.), *1204 la quatrième croisade: de Blois à Constantinople. Éclats d'empires = Bulletin de la Société française d'Héraldique et de Sigillographie*, 73–5 (2003–2005): pp. 117–20.

36 Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1, p. 104, nos. 114 a–b. A gold bulla preserved in the Treasury of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris was destroyed during the Revolution but is known through an eighteenth-century engraving: Cécile Morrisson, in Jannic Durand (ed.), *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris, 2001), p. 51, no. 13. A gold bulla of the same type recently appeared on the market. Guillaume Saint-Guillain also draws my attention to the fact that now the Greek legend goes with the riding image and not with the enthroned one, as on the previous seals where logically the Latin legend went with the knightly riding image and the Greek with the majesty one.

The Influence of Foreign Models in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century

Although cross-cultural encounters already occurred before 1250, as the example of Baldwin II shows, undoubtedly the mid-thirteenth century marks a turning point. The adoption of foreign themes and ways of expression loosened and shook the *koine* that had hitherto prevailed in the numismatic language of the Byzantine world. The increasing penetration of foreign coins in the local circulation, mainly western in the Balkans but also Turkish in Anatolia, and their domination in the fourteenth century, induced their imitation by rulers who had previously adhered strictly to the affirmation of their Byzantine heritage.

In Trebizond the turning point can be traced to the reign of Manuel I (1238–63), who shifted from typical electrum concave coins on the model of twelfth-century *manuelati* to flat silver coins whose fabric recalled that of the *dirhems* of the neighbouring Seljuks.[37] In this first stage, the desire to provide a suitable currency for the Eastern trade and economic motivation did not influence the engraving. The imitation remained limited to the technical field. Only the weight, dimensions and fineness were copied; the emperor was still termed *Komnenos* and represented standing in Byzantine attire in chlamys, holding labarum and akakia. The Trapezuntine identity was asserted on the reverse by the first representation of the local martyr, St Eugenios, which was going to be the trademark of Trebizond coins until the fall of the empire (Fig. 8.16). But numismatic acculturation occurred a few decades later when the Turkish type of the ruler on horseback was adopted by Alexios II (1297–1330), as also happened in contemporary Georgian or Cilician Armenian issues belonging to the same commercial and cultural zone (Fig. 8.17).[38]

The economic context also triggered the westernizing of many coinages in the former Byzantine area, in both fabric and design. The most popular western type was that of the Venetian silver ducat or *grosso* created around 1194: its design was loosely inspired by that of a *trachy* of Manuel I Komnenos, but its flat fabric and dimensions were purely Venetian (Fig. 8.18). It spread in Greece and the Southern Balkans from the 1270s onwards, and a bit later in Bulgaria, Thrace and the western coast of the Black Sea.[39] Serbia began striking its own *grosh* on the Venetian model under Stefan Dragutin (1276–82), replacing St Mark with St

37 Otto Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt* (Braunschweig, 1974²), pp. 40ff.

38 Wroth, *Coins of the Vandals*, pp. 279–81, nos. 1–11.

39 Alan M. Stahl, 'The Circulation of Medieval Venetian Coinages', in Lucia Travaini (ed.), *Moneta locale, moneta straniera: Italia ed Europa, XI–XV secolo* (Milan, 1999), pp. 87–111.

Stefan but using Latin legends to enhance their likeness to the Venetian model (Fig. 8.22). Bulgaria followed under George I Terter (1280–92).[40]

The restored empire itself, which had renovated the Byzantine tradition with the original type of the hyperpyron celebrating the recapture of Constantinople, had to follow the trend after a few decades. In 1304 Andronikos II issued a flat silver coin modelled on the Venetian silver ducat, bearing the same type of Christ on high-backed throne on one side, and on the other the two emperors holding a cross that was rather reminiscent of the doge and St Mark holding the banner (Fig. 8.19). In fact Byzantine imperial costume was strictly maintained and differed clearly from the doge's costume and the pallium of St. Mark. This was not the case on the Serbian *grosh*, which was a more direct copy.

At some point in the earlier part of his reign, Andronikos II (1282–1328) began issuing a series of small flat billon (base silver coins) modelled on the Frankish deniers tournois struck at Clarentza, Corinth and Thebes from the 1260s onwards. Their dimensions and fineness were similar, and the design included the characteristic cross *pattée* surrounded by an inscription between two lines. But the original *chatel tournois* on the obverse was not adopted and the coins retained a typical representation of one or two emperors.

Such a blending shows on the one hand the ongoing permeation of the Byzantine tradition also apparent in other media of the period.[41] On the other hand it provides evidence of its strong resilience at the ideological level. Economic factors and western dominance imposed the adoption of some foreign elements in fabric or design, but the symbolic Byzantine representation lingered on and evolved according to its own internal political ideas.

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[40] Some earlier scarce types are attributed to John Asen II and Michael Asen with his mother Irene but are not included in the reference work by Iurukova and Penčev, *Bălgarski srednovekovni pečati i moneti.*

[41] Panagiotes Vocotopoulos (ed.), *Η Βυζαντινή τέχνη μετά την τέταρτη σταυροφορία· η τέταρτη σταυροφορία και οι επιπτώσεις της* (Athens, 2007).

PART II
On the Peripheries of Byzantium

Chapter 9
The Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World: A Prosopographical Perspective

Rustam Shukurov

The chronological and geographical limits of the following discussion encompass the eastern outskirts of the Byzantine world from the end of the twelfth century to 1261, with a particular focus on the empire of Trebizond in 1204–1261 and the Seljuk sultanate in Anatolia up to the 1260s. I shall begin with the empire of Trebizond and shall then turn to the territories adjacent to the Byzantine Pontos from the south, namely to Muslim Anatolia. If the affiliation of the empire of Trebizond to the Byzantine world is unlikely to cause any surprise or doubt, the extension of Byzantine civilization through Anatolian Muslim territories requires some special explanation, which will be set out in the proper place.

The Empire of Trebizond

The sources for the empire of Trebizond in the first half of the thirteenth century are distributed among many languages: Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Georgian and Syriac.[1] Despite a rather broad geographical distribution, the sources are very fragmented and incomplete, particularly in regard to the documentary sources that would normally contain the main bulk of prosopographic data. In the first half of the thirteenth century, West Byzantine literature, albeit more ample in comparison with East Anatolian, was very little concerned with the history of Trebizond. The Nicaean and Palaiologan Byzantines avoided writing at length about Trebizond, partly for ideological reasons, wishing to commit the arrogant Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond to eternal oblivion. The Byzantine Pontos was also outside the main

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[1] For an up-to-date general survey of the sources for the history of the empire of Trebizond see Sergei P. Karpov, *История Трапезундской империи* (St-Petersburg, 2007), pp. 15–27. See also the bibliographical section in Anthony A.M. Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 20, 2 vols (Washington, DC, 1985), vol. 1, pp. xxii–li, and Alexios Sabbides and Stelios Lampakes, *Γενική βιβλιογραφία περί του βυζαντινού Πόντου και του κράτους των μεγάλων Κομνηνών της Τραπεζούντας* (Athens, 1992), pp. 29–80 and supplements in *Αρχείον Πόντου*, 45 (1994): pp. 79–91; ibid., 47 (1996–97): pp. 345–50; ibid., 48 (1998–99): pp. 232–50; ibid., 49 (2002): pp. 149–53.

scope of Persian and Arab historiography. For both regions, this was because of the geographical remoteness of Trebizond, which was isolated from the outer world by the Pontic Alps and the Black Sea, and also due to its relatively modest military and financial strength and, consequently, little political and economic influence. Rather brighter informational light would illuminate Central and Eastern Anatolia in connection with the Mongol invasion, but only by about the middle of the thirteenth century. From that time onwards the Anatolian Muslims, Cilician Armenians, Arabs and Iranians wrote major historical works as if trying to comprehend its consequences.[2] In contrast, during the first half of the thirteenth century, it is as if the region stepped into an informational gap. Pontic history is seen as if from behind the veil, which makes contours and details very blurred and imprecise.

The most essential prosopographic data for the period under discussion is found in the acts of the St John Prodromos monastery in Vazelon, which is a major reservoir of the documentary material concerning the Byzantine Pontos. The Acts of Vazelon survive in the form of a cartulary, κῶδιξ, that is, a collection of copies of original charters substantiating the monastery's rights to its lands. It seems that only two manuscripts of the Vazelon κῶδιξ have survived up to now. One is preserved in the St-Petersburg Public Library (Греч. 743) and comprises 190 documents from 1245 to 1704. One may distinguish up to four main hands in the manuscript. The most ancient part of the manuscript was written by one scribe and can be attributed to the period between 1415 and 1429.[3] The other manuscript of the κῶδιξ initially belonged to the Greek Philological Society in Constantinople (Syllogos Library) and is now preserved in the Library of Türk Tarih Kurumu in Ankara. It was copied at the end of the eighteenth century and comprises 118 documents from 1257 to 1818.[4]

A critical edition of the St-Petersburg MS was published by Uspensky and Beneshevich (1927); however, it is far from perfect. In some places the editors' reading is rather doubtful and there are some serious typographic misprints.

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[2] Charles Melville, 'The Early Persian History of Anatolia', in Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn, in collaboration with E. Tucker (eds), *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 135–66. On Oriental sources for the Byzantine Pontos see also Rustam M. Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток (1204–1461)* (St- Petersburg, 2001), pp. 26–39.

[3] Fjodor I. Uspensky and Vladimir N. Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты. Материалы для истории крестьянского и монастырского землевладения в Византии XIII–XV вв.* (Leningrad, 1927), pp. i–xii.

[4] For the information on the Ankara manuscript I am grateful to Prof. Anthony A.M. Bryer. On the Ankara manuscript, see also Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, pp. iii–iv; Anthony Bryer and Heath Lowry (eds), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham–Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 5–6 and nn. 13 and 15.

Uspensky and Beneshevich's edition should be revised, especially because they did not use the Ankara copy.

In the Uspensky and Beneshevich edition, there are 26 acts dated by the editors prior to 1261. Franz Dölger corrected the dating of few documents, which are marked below with an asterisk (*):[5]

1245 (no. 49)
*c.*1245 (no. 15)
*c.*1245 (no. 16)
1254 (no. 111)
1254–83 (no. 71)*
1254–83 (no. 72)*
1256 (no. 53)
1259 (no. 64)
1250s–60s (no. 55)
1260 (no. 57)
*c.*1260 (no. 17)
*c.*1260 (no. 19)
*c.*1260 (no. 21)
*c.*1260 (no. 22)
*c.*1260 (no. 23)
*c.*1260 (no. 24)
*c.*1260 (no. 25)
*c.*1260 (no. 26)
*c.*1260 (no. 37)
*c.*1260 (no. 58)
*c.*1260 (no. 79)
1260–70 (no. 45)
1260–70 (no. 54)
*c.*1260–70 (no. 18)
1261 (no. 38)
1261 or 1276 (no. 83)

These 26 acts refer to 103 persons (see Appendix below) identified by their names and some more anonymous persons identified only in terms of family relations. The distribution of the names according to the decades is approximately as follows (some persons are mentioned throughout decades):

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5 Franz Dölger, 'Zu den Urkunden des Vazelonsklosters bei Trapezunt', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 29 (1929–30): p. 332. The *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* registered those names that are dated after 1260 and sporadically those mentioned before that date.

1240s 16
1250s 19
1260s 68

Apart from the Acts of Vazelon, sources are pitifully brief for the period between 1204 and 1261. All surviving imperial chrysobulls of the Grand Komnenoi are of later dates. There is only one patriarchal document relating directly to the Trapezuntine affairs.[6]

Some later Pontic Greek sources cast retrospective light on earlier events. First: the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos written at the end of the fourteenth century, which we have in the reliable critical edition of Odysseus Lampsides. Panaretos used some earlier written sources of the first half of the thirteenth century; however, he was too selective: he gave only four one- to two-sentence entries for the reigns of the four emperors ruling from 1204 to 1263 (Alexios I, Andronikos I Gidos, John I Axouchos, Manuel I). These contain unique but very succinct information.[7]

John Lazaropoulos' hagiographic *Synopsis of the Miracles of St Eugenios*, recently well edited by Jan Olof Rosenqvist, is of major importance for the prosopographic study of some Trapezuntine personages, especially in its account of the Seljuk attack against Trebizond in 1230: the fiscal officer Alexios Paktiares (Ἀλέξιος Πακτιάρης), the military officers George Akribitziotes (Γεώργιος Ἀκριβιτζιώτης) and Theodore Akribiziotes (Θεόδωρος Ἀκριβιτζιώτης), the monk Gerasimos (Γεράσιμος), etc. The *Synopsis* represents a very complex text, containing authentic and reliable historical material from earlier non-hagiographical sources relating to the 1220s. Lazaropoulos restructured and completely rewrote the earlier material in accordance with the requirements of the hagiographical genre.[8]

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6 See Vitalien Laurent, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. 4, *Les regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), no. 1351; the date of 1260 is more plausible than the editor's of 1261: see Albert Failler, 'Chronologie et composition dans l'*Histoire* de Georges Pachymère', *Revue des études byzantines*, 38 (1980): pp. 48–50; no. 1207 (1208) refers to Alexios Grand Komnenos and his brother David without mentioning their names.

7 *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν*, ed. O. Lampsides (Athens, 1958).

8 John Lazaropoulos, *Synopsis of the Miracles of St. Eugenios*, in *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Indexes*, ed. J.O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 246–361. On the date of the Seljuk attack against Trebizond and evaluation of the factual value of the Lazaropoulos' text see Rustam Shukurov, 'Trebizond and the Seljuks (1204–1299)', *Mésogeios. Revue trimestrielle d'études méditerranéennes*, 25–6 (2005): pp. 92–9, 108–11. See, however, Andrew C.S. Peacock, 'The Saljūq Campaign against the Crimea and the Expansionist Policy of the Early Reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd series, 16/2 (2006): pp. 145–8, who tries to restore the traditional dating of the Seljuk campaign (1223).

Most other Byzantine texts, such as those of Niketas Choniates, Georgios Akropolites, Nicholas Mesarites, Constantine Loukites, Bessarion, Chalkokondyles, and so on, that refer to the earliest period are of little prosopographic value for early Trapezuntine history. The same is true for Pontic epigraphics and sigillography of the thirteenth century.

Prosopography and Ethnicity

The available prosopographic material from early Trapezuntine history is very limited; however, it perfectly suffices to pose an essential problem of a methodological nature. By this I mean the problem of ethnicity, which in my view must be taken into account in any twenty-first-century prosopographical study. The question of ethnicity, in the last decades, has become one of the key problems and is actively developed by many branches of the humanities from prehistoric studies to modern sociology and philosophy. Byzantine studies in this sense are no exception. Despite the clear dominance of imperial and confessional components in Byzantine self-identity, ethnic minorities did not always dissolve in the 'Orthodox Roman' substrate and had a significant impact on social and political processes. Moreover, the notion of ethnicity was not alien to the Byzantines themselves, who were fully aware of the ethnic origin of their compatriots and at times attached great importance to it.

Talking about Byzantine prosopography, one may note that already in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* and *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, ethnic affiliation was sporadically noted, while *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* introduces a separate ethnicity index. In other words, the importance of ethnicity has been recognized in recent studies.[9] The next step in the same direction would be a greater and more systematic involvement of lexicography. I am not the first to draw attention to the importance of lexicography for prosopographic research. Recently, the advantages of lexicographical study have been shown by Paul Magdalino, using the example of the group of Byzantines with quasi-Latin identity.[10] I believe that specific linguistic methodologies and tools should become an indispensable element of any contemporary prosopographical project. Traditional Byzantine names have to be appraised in the onomastic context of the epoch, while the names of non-Greek origin need expert etymological examination. It is very desirable that all the names registered, and especially foreign ones, should be accompanied with an

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[9] See also, for instance, etymological and lexicographical discussion in Jean-Claude Cheynet and Jean-François Vannier, *Études prosopographiques* (Paris, 1986), pp. 15–16, 57, 75, 129–31.

[10] See for instance Paul Magdalino, 'Prosopography and Byzantine Identity', in Averil Cameron (ed.), *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 50 and ff.

expert judgement of their semantics, although in many cases it is not always easy to figure out the exact meaning.

Here are some examples taken from the Vazelon acts and Lazaropoulos' *Synopsis*. Let us start with Oriental, that is, Arabic, Persian or Turkic etymologies.

The sobriquet Πακτιάρης (Gen. Πακτιάρη) of the *demosiakos archon* Ἀλέξιος (1225) most probably was of Persian origin ← Pers. بختيار *bakhtyār* 'fortunate'.[11] I know about only one more appearance of the sobriquet Πακτιάρης, in a letter of Theodore II Laskaris, where it is put into a somewhat 'Oriental' context.[12] Some more examples from the Acts of Vazelon:

- the nickname of the witness Θεόδωρος Μουχουδενός (*c.*1260) ← Ar. محى الدين *muhī al-dīn* 'he who revives the Faith';[13]
- the second name of Γεώργιος Ἀλπούσης (1260 and later) ← Tk. personal name *alpiş* 'warrior-like';[14]
- the second name of the priest Κωνσταντῖνος Χαμούρης (1260) ← Tk. *hamur* ← Ar. خمير *khamīr* 'yeast paste, dough' (etymology of Tompaïdes), probably denoting the physical appearance of the owner;[15]
- a widespread nickname first attested in 1261 was Καντζίκης ← Tk. *qançiq* 'bitch, apostate';[16]
- the nickname of Εὐστάθιος Χουρτζιριώτης (*c.*1260) ← Tk.-Mon. *qurçi*

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[11] John Lazaropoulos, *Synopsis*, ed. Rosenqvist, pp. 1162f., 1178; Rustam Shukurov, 'The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos', *Mésogeios*, 6 (1999): p. 19, no. 27.

[12] *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa, Pubblicazioni del R. Istituto di studi superiori pratici e di perfezionamento in Firenze, sezione di filosofia e lettere, 29 (Florence, 1898), no. CCXVII, line 26 (ὁ Πακτιάρης τέθνηκεν ἱππεύων ταταρικῶς). The name Πακτιάρης is probably not identical with Πακτιάριος of the twelfth century, for the stem of the latter lexeme is different (πακτιάρι ← Gk. πάκτον?). For Πακτιάριος see *Ioannis Cinnanmi epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 6.19; *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.A. van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin–New York, 1975), vol. 1, p. 13, lines 2–9.

[13] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 24.12 (= no. 24, line 12, style adopted hereafter); Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 8, no. 19598.

[14] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 45.10 and no. 79.38–9; Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 1, no. 700; Erk Yurtsever, *Türkçe Adlar Derlemesi* (İstanbul, 1997), p. 26; cf. Demetrios E. Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα τουρκικής προελεύσης* (Athens, 1990), p. 44: 'Αλπος, 'Αλπας, Αλπίδης, Αλπόγλου ← Tk. *alp* 'warrior''.

[15] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 57.1–3, no. 58.2–4; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα τουρκικής προελεύσης*, p. 187 (Χαμούρης, Χαμουρίδης).

[16] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 42.11–12, no. 47.1, no. 61.16, no. 83.13, no. 91.16, no. 106.43, no. 106.338–9; and Shukurov, 'The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos', pp. 15–16, no. 15.

'bodyguard, archer' (Mon. *qorçi* 'archer', 'quiver-bearer' < *qori* 'quiver') + ? Gk. suff. αρι + Gk. ιωτης denoting 'one belonging to the community of *qorçi*';[17]
- Σούτος (*c*.1260) ← Tk. *süt* 'milk' (etymology of Tompaïdes),[18] probably 'milkman'.

These names unmistakably indicate the presence of the Asians in Pontic Greek society. Later material from the 1260s up to 1461 (the date of the Ottoman conquest of Trebizond) provides more examples of Oriental names, which I have discussed in greater detail elsewhere. In my estimation, registered sedentary Asians in Byzantine Pontos made up at least 5 per cent of the entire population. These figures are very approximate. However, they probably reflect real correlations in the ethnic structure of the Byzantine Pontic population. At any rate, we have no better evidence. It is curious that the existence of a large group of Turkophones in the Byzantine Pontos has been substantiated by a recent linguistic study of Bernt Brendemoen, who dates the formation of the modern Turkish dialects of the Pontos to the fourteenth century.[19]

Our list of Trapezuntine names prior to 1261 contains a number of Laz derivatives:

- The sobriquet of a number of persons Σαπούας (1254–1260s)[20] goes back to the Lazan საპუ *sapu* 'moss'; this nickname or sobriquet with its feminine form Σαπουάβα was widespread in Trapezuntine anthroponymics up to the fifteenth century.[21] As to the semantics of the name, it might either have been a derivation from the Lazan appellative or have designated the origin from Σαπούας, a place in the Pontic region of Matzouka;[22] however, the first option seems to me more plausible.
- The sobriquet of Ἰωάννης Χαλαμανός (*c*.1260)[23] likely derived from Lazan ყალამანი or ქალამანი *qalamani* 'bast shoe, sandal' and hence probably

[17] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 79.41–2; Shukurov, 'The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos', p. 28, no. 55.

[18] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 37.1–2; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 187: Σούτης, Σούτας, Σούτος, Σουτάκης, Σούτογλου, Σουτόγλου, Σουτλιόγλου.

[19] Bernt Brendemoen, *The Turkish Dialects of Trabzon: Their Phonology and Historical Development*, vol. 1, *Analysis* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 286–90, 301.

[20] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, nos. 17.4, 21.3, 55.11, 57.24, 79.39 (ἱερεὺς Θεόδωρος); no. 111.12 (στρατιώτης Θεόδωρος); nos. 57.23, 111.12 (ἱερεὺς Βασίλειος); nos. 45.8, 54.12 (ἱερεὺς Ἰωαννάκης); no. 72.7 (Γεώργιος); no. 79.39 (ἱερεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος).

[21] See ibid., Index, p. cxxxiii.

[22] Ibid., no. 104.20: εἰς τοῦ Σαπούα.

[23] Ibid., no. 25.17.

meant 'sandal maker'. This nickname was rather popular and survived up to the fifteenth century.[24]

The chronologically later charters give more examples of Kartvelian names, as follows:

- Λάζος ('Lazan' ← ethnic name Laz)[25] and Λαζογίανινα ('Yanina the Laz');[26]
- Ζιγανίτας, Ζιγανίτης, etc. ← Lazan ზეგანი zegani 'upland" with the meaning 'uplander';[27]
- Τζαλιμός ← probably Lazan ჭალიმი *čalimi* 'red clay" likely with the meaning 'having red skin';[28]
- Χαρμούτας ← probably Lazan ქარმატე *karmate* and Modern Georgian ქარმუტა *karmuta* 'mill', thus denoting 'miller'.[29]

So it seems that two sub-ethnic Kartvelian groups existed: the Chans or Tzans, and the Lazs. The Tzans are believed to have populated inland mountainous areas in the central parts of the empire, that is, in Chaldia and Southern Palaiomatzouka, while most Lazs lived closer to the coastal area in the Eastern part of the empire. It is not improbable that the Kartvelian population of Matzouka and Palaiomatzouka included both Lazs and Tzans. However, we know too little about dialectal differences between the Çan and Laz languages to distinguish these two groups in my list.

The available historical sources on the Kartvelian substrate in Byzantine Pontos have been comprehensively discussed more than once;[30] however, Kartvelian

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24 Ibid., Index, p. cxxxvi; Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller (ed.), *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 5 (Vienna, 1887), p. 279.

25 Vitalien Laurent, 'Deux chrysobulles inédits des empereurs de Trébizonde Alexis IV–Jean IV et David II', *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου*, 18 (1953): pp. 266.125, 267.135–6.

26 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 13.4–6.

27 Ibid., Index, p. cxix.

28 Ibid., Index, p. cxxxiv; although cf. p. 171: Τσαλίμης etc. ← Tk. *çalım* 'swagger, strut".

29 Ibid., Index, p. cxxiv.

30 Anthony A.M. Bryer, 'Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan (I)', *Bedi Kartlisa*, 21–2 (50–51) (1966): pp. 174–95; Anthony A.M. Bryer, 'Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan (II)', *Bedi Kartlisa*, 23–4 (52–3) (1967): pp. 161–8, reprinted in Anthony A.M. Bryer, *Peoples and Settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus, 800–1900*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 274 (London, 1988), articles XIVa–b; Erekle Zhordania, 'Этнический состав населения Понта в XIII–XV вв. Часть I: Лазы', *Byzantinoslavica*, 58 (1997): pp. 125–39; and Erekle Zhordania, 'Этнический состав населения Понта в XIII–XV вв. и некоторые вопросы топонимики Понта. Часть II: чаны', *Byzantinoslavica*, 60 (1999): pp. 71–86.

linguistic vestiges including those provided by anthroponymics and toponymics have attracted attention only recently.[31]

The list of pre-1261 Trapezuntine names also contains some curious Romance derivatives. Most of these names are unique for Byzantine prosopography and are not found in the Byzantine Balkans, Western Anatolia, Cyprus, etc.:

- the sobriquet Βαλεντζιάκος belonging to several persons (*c.*1260 and later)[32] ← It. surname *Valencia*,[33] cf.: βαλεντίζα ← Old French *vaillentise* 'intrepidity'[34] + Gk. suffix κος with the meaning of quality or ability;
- Βαλεντζιάκων (1250s–1260s and later)[35] ← It. surname *Valencia* + Gk. suffix κων;
- Καστελίτης (*c.*1260 and later)[36] and Καστελιτόπουλος (1435)[37] ← It. *castello* 'castle, tower', cf.: Genoese surname *Casteletis*, *Casteleto* etc.,[38] cf.: Venetian surname *Castella* and *Castela* from Tana,[39] cf. also: Middle Gk. καστέλλον etc. 'castle', 'fort' (before 1401);
- Κάναρις (1254 and later)[40] ← It. ← Lat. *canarius* 'mosquito'?; cf.: Middle Gk. κανάριον 'mosquito' ← Lat. *canarius*, the same as κώνωψ.[41]

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31 Some first steps have been made in this direction, in Erekle Zhordania, *Картвельское население Понта в XIII–XV вв. Диссертация .. кандидата исторических наук: 07.00.03.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 37–38; see also: Rustam M. Shukurov, 'Тюрки на православном Понте в XIII–XV вв.: начальный этап тюркизации?', in *Причерноморье в средние века*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1995), pp. 68–103.

32 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, nos. 37.14, 43.2f., 43.1ff., 59.1–2, 63.22, 99.12.

33 Andrei L. Ponomarev, 'Путеводитель по рукописи массарии Каффы 1374 г. (Liber massariae Caffae tempore regiminis egreii viri domini Iulliani de Castro consulis Caffae MCCCLXXIV nunc indicatus et a pluribus mendis purgatus)', in *Причерноморье в средние века*, vol. 6 (St-Petersburg, 2005), p. 135.

34 Henry and Renée Kahane, 'The Western Impact on Byzantium: The Linguistic Evidence', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 36 (1982): p. 137; Henry and Renée Kahane, 'Abendland und Byzanz', in Peter Wirth (ed.), *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik* (Amsterdam, 1970), p. 542.

35 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, nos. 14.15, 55.11–12, 60.47, 106.82–3.

36 Ibid., nos. 36.3, 45.12, 58.31, 68.1–15, and also 128.4 (1384).

37 Ibid., no. 10.4.

38 Ponomarev, 'Путеводитель по рукописи массарии Каффы 1374 г.', p. 66.

39 Nina D. Prokofjeva, 'Акты венецианского нотария в Тане Донато а Мано (1413–1419)', in *Причерноморье в средние века*, vol. 4 (St-Petersburg, 2000), p. 156.

40 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, nos. 106.75–6, 111.1–4, 29.6.

41 *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*, at http://www.tlg.uci.edu/; Erich Trapp *et alii.*, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 2001), p. 757.

Later charters provide more 'Latin' names such as

- Κουσπίδης (end of the thirteenth century)[42] ← It. *cuspide* ← Lat. *cuspus, cuspis* 'wooden shoe'?, cf.: Middle Gk. κοῦσπος;[43]
- Σαντήλης (1432)[44] ← It. name *Santelli*; one more option: ← place-name Santel in North Italy by Trento?; cf. also place-name *Santellini/Santilini* = Santorini, an island in the Aegean Sea;[45]
- Φράγκος (fifteenth century)[46] ← It. name and sobriquet *Franco*[47] or French *Franc* (← ethnonym *franc*); cf.: Middle Gk. φράγκος 'Frank, West European'.[48]

What is curious in this list of the Romance names? First, it indicates the physical presence of the Latins and especially Italians in the Pontos in the 1250s and 1260s, that is, *before* the commonly accepted time of the Genoese and Venetian colonization of the Black Sea, which started in the second half of the thirteenth century. Probably the first Venetian settlement in the empire of Trebizond appeared not long before 1291. The Genoese established their first settlements in Kaffa in 1266–70 and in Sudak in 1274. The earliest Genoese settlement in Trebizond had probably been founded by 1288.[49] These dates of the beginning of the Italian settlement in the empire of Trebizond do not explain the noted earlier appearance of the Latins in Matzouka. It is not impossible that the listed Latins were former mercenaries or their descendants settled in the region. Here we probably have a Pontic counterpart to the Balkan *gasmouloi* or *basmouloi* (γασμοῦλοι, βασμοῦλοι), descendants of an Italian father and a Greek mother,[50] although we do not know

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42 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 105.58.

43 *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*; Trapp *et alii*, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, p. 876; Alois Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3, new edn by J.B. Hofmann (Heidelberg, 1938), p. 318; Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), p. 297.

44 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 168.

45 Henry and Renée Kahane, *Italienische Ortsnamen in Griechenland* (Athens, 1940), p. 326.

46 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, nos. 13.14, 176.1.

47 Prokofjeva, Акты венецианского нотария в Тане Донато а Мано (1413–1419)', pp. 160, 164.

48 Wilhelm Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, dritte Auflage, new edition by G. Benseler, 2 vols (Braunschweig, 1911; reprinted Graz, 1959), vol. 2, p. 1646. On the ethnic name Φράγκος see also Nikolaos G. Kontosopoulos, 'Το εθνικό όνομα Φράγκος και τα παράγωγά του', *Λεξικογραφικόν δελτίον*, 18 (1993): pp. 79–94.

49 Karpov, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 229–30 and 276–8.

50 A comprehensive study on *gasmouloi* with almost exhaustive bibliography: Georgios Makris, 'Die Gasmulen', *Θησαυρίσματα*, 22 (1992): pp. 44–96. See also Spyros

whether the Pontic Greeks had any special designation for such Greco-Roman half-breeds.

One more possible explanation for the early settlement of the Latins in rural Pontos is provided by a recent study of David Jacoby. Jacoby suggests that after 1204 the level of Venetian trading activity in the Black Sea (both in its southern and northern coasts) was rather high. The Venetians regularly visited the Black Sea ports and trade turnover was rather significant; however, the relevant documentation of Venetian activity in the Black Sea for 1204–1261 has not survived. Despite the scarcity of surviving documents, according to indirect evidence discussed in detail by Jacoby, the Venetians were frequently in the Black Sea before 1261 and actively traded there.[51] If so, it is not impossible that the pre-1261 Latins of the Pontos might well have been at least in part Venetians trading in the Black Sea.

The second remarkable feature of the list of Latin names is that it comprises naturalized Latins only, who adopted the local Orthodox Christianity and settled in the empire as the subjects of the Grand Komnenoi. Their assimilation into the local Greek population is reflected by the fact that their baptismal names were Greek. All persons listed here very likely were peasants and landowners and seem to have been fully integrated into the local rural society. It is rather surprising that all or a major part of them were peasants, but not merchants. Our imagination portrays an Italian in the Pontos predominantly as a merchant or a mercenary, that is, as a foreigner who rarely mixed with locals. Examples of the latter are well known and may be illustrated by Nicolò Doria, Domenico D'Allegro, Girolamo di Negro, and other Italian merchants and mercenaries holding civil and military positions at the Grand Komnenian court.[52] On the contrary, our list shows that some of the Latins, likely those of a lower social standing, might have settled in rural areas and completely adapted themselves to local life.[53]

It is rather surprising that the Armenians in Matzouka were least numerous in comparison with Greeks, Lazs, Italians and Asians. Seemingly, in pre-1261 Trapezuntine prosopography can be found the only Armenian name, Ἀπαράκης. The nucleus area of Armenian settlements was in the south-eastern part of the empire in Arhakel situated south to Rize and Pazar. We know almost nothing about relationships between Arhakel and the Grand Komnenian authorities. Later most

Vryonis, 'Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower', in Spyros Vryonis, *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies*, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina, 2 (Malibu, CA, 1981), article III, pp. 134–5.

[51] David Jacoby, 'The Economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261', in Angeliki Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris, 2005), pp. 200–209.

[52] Karpov, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 182, 293–4, 296–7, 301, 347 and 305–6.

[53] For further details see Rustam Shukurov, 'Латиняне в сельской Мацуке (13–15 вв.)', in Rustam Sukurov (ed.), *Mare et litora. Essays Presented to Sergei Karpov for his 60th Birthday* (Moscow, 2009), pp. 627–42.

of the Arhakel Armenians adopted Islam forming the minority of Hemşins, that is, Muslim Armenians.[54]

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Pontic documentary material contains a considerable number of non-Greek names that remain with rare exceptions unidentified until now. In the rather short list of 103 names in the Acts of Vazelon for the period prior to 1261 one may single out at least 12 identified foreign names (almost 12 per cent) and many more still unidentified. In the Trapezuntine anthroponymy from 1204 to 1461, the overall number of identified Greek names makes up as little as 40 per cent. The remaining 60 per cent are unidentified names mostly of non-Greek origin.[55] These unidentified names could not have been invented out of thin air by their owners and were definitely the result of Oriental, Kartvelian, Armenian or West European ethnic or linguistic influences.

As I have tried to show, even an elementary etymological and lexicological analysis is an effective tool of prosopographic study, opening new research horizons. I believe that the contemporary level of prosopographic analysis today requires thorough etymological work comprising Medieval Greek dialectology, Slavonic languages and dialects, Medieval Italian dialects, Turkic languages both of the Western Oğuz groups and Eastern Qipchaq ones, Persian, Arabic, Medieval Kartvelian and Armenian linguistics. The name, given by parents, by immediate social ambience or assumed by a person himself, is an essential part of personal identity: it absorbs and reflects a person's associations and disassociations with

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54 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 16, cf., and no. 105. Some Armenians appear in the later documents: Ἀρακέλης (ibid., no. 36.4), Ἀρτάβαστος (ibid., no. 106.205), Ἀρταβαστόπουλος (ibid., no. 60.49), Ἀρμενόπουλος (ibid., no. 10.8), Βαρδόπουλος (ibid., no. 106.188), Κρηκόρης (ibid., no. 106.293), Σαμάταβα (Laurent, 'Deux chrysobulles', p. 269, line 199). Σαμάταβα ← Σαμάτ, which probably is a variant spelling of Smbat, see Erich Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 14 vols (Vienna, 1976–96), vol. 10, no. 24767, Χάνης (Laurent, 'Deux chrysobulles', p. 266, line 122), etc. See also Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, pp. 335–8; Igor V. Kuznetsov, *Одежда армян Понта. Семиотика материальной культуры* (Moscow, 1995); Hovann Simonian (ed.), *The Hemshin: History, Society and Identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey* (London–New York, 2007). One may come across Circassians in Pontic sources whose appearance in the Pontos probably were the result of slave trade in the Black Sea region: Ἰωάννης Τζιαρκάσης and Νικόλαος Τζιαρκάσης (both 1435) mentioned in Trapezuntine obits. See Anthony A.M. Bryer, 'Some Trapezuntine Monastic Obits (1368–1563)', *Revue des études byzantines*, 34 (1976): p. 135 (no. 25) and p. 136 (no. 28), reprinted in Anthony A.M. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 117 (London, 1980), article IX.

55 See also Anthony A.M. Bryer, 'Rural Society in Matzouka', in Bryer and Lowry (eds), *Continuity and Change*, pp. 79–80; in his study of the Acts of Vazelon, Bryer estimated standard Greek names at only 47.3 per cent.

the previous generation and with his contemporaries, while revealing his own personal relationships. Every instance of the use of foreign names and surnames should be traced and placed in its historic context.

Place-names and Prosopography

Medieval names of rural locations were rather often derived from the names of their former owners. The inclusion of such names into a prosopographic study seems to be rather desirable, because ultimately the *anthropo-toponym* is a trace, albeit scant, of a person. Here I adduce some examples of Oriental *anthropo-toponyms* found in the Acts of Vazelon.

In a Vazelon document we come across the στάσις τοῦ Καλκανᾶ.[56] Likely, the Genitive τοῦ Καλκανᾶ derives from the Nominative Καλκανᾶς. If so, Καλκανᾶς consists of *καλκάν ← Tk. *qalqañ* 'shield' and Greek formant ας denoting, in particular, occupation and profession. Consequently Καλκανᾶς most probably meant 'Shield-maker' and was a personal name turned into a place-name.

In Pontic Greek of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries one finds Pontic καλκάνιν, 'shield' borrowed from Turkish.[57] What is interesting is that in late Ottoman times the place-name Καλκάν' existed,[58] which is apparently identical to the medieval Καλκανᾶς. Moreover, the absence of standard Greek flexion in Καλκάν' probably shows that the local Greeks were completely aware of its foreign origin. However, in the course of time, the initial 'stasis of the Shield-maker' turned into 'the stasis of the Shield'.

The next example is rather similar. The place-name Φουρνουτζιώτης is mentioned thrice in the Acts of Vazelon: ἀποσυνοριάζει τὸν Φουρνουτζιώτην, 'a place that borders Phournoutziotes';[59] ἔχω ἀπὸ τὸν Φουρνουτζιώτην;[60] εἰς τοῦ Φουρνουτζιώτα.[61] The fact is that the word Φουρνουτζιώτης derives from Tk. *furunçi* 'baker' (*furun* ← Gk. φοῦρνος 'stove, furnace' + Tk. suff. -çi) + Gk. suffix -ιώτης designating family or clan; cf. Pontic Gk. φουρουντζῆς[62] and Lazan furundji[63] 'baker'. Consequently, the semantics of the name should be 'belonging to the community of bakers', while the place-name Φουρνουτζιώτης may be

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[56] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 106.341 (end of the thirteenth century).

[57] Anthimos A. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν της Ποντικής διαλέκτου*, 2 vols (Athens, 1958–61), vol. 1, p. 386.

[58] Georgios Zerzelides, 'Τοπωνυμικό της Άνω Ματσούκας', *Αρχείον Πόντου*, 24 (1961): pp. 87–192, here p. 261.

[59] Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 49.12.

[60] Ibid., no. 115.21.

[61] Ibid., no. 115.31.

[62] Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν της Ποντικής διαλέκτου*, vol. 2, p. 466.

[63] Nikolai Marr, *Грамматика чанского (лазского) языка* (St-Petersburg, 1910), p. 240.

translated as 'the place of the family of the Bakers'.[64] Undoubtedly, this place-name was derived from a personal name, and one may suggest that there existed a clan of the Φουρνουτζιῶται. It is not impossible that the place-name was identical to τὰ Φουρνία in Matzouka of later times.[65]

In the case of the place-name Τζαμουχί there can also be no doubt that it was a personal name first, probably of a former owner of the place. Τζαμουχί(ον) is found in the Acts of Vazelon in the following contexts: τὸ ἄνωθεν τοῦ Τζαμουχί,[66] τὸν τόπον τοῦ Τζαμουχίου,[67] εἰς τοῦ Τζαμουχίου.[68] All three contexts meant that Τζαμουχί was a place-name; however, its plausible source was the well-known Mongol personal name *Jamuqa* (جاموقه).[69]

Greeks in Muslim Anatolia

In the second part of this contribution, I would like to suggest a possible geographic and thematic extension for the Byzantine prosopography project. If a prosopographic study claims to reflect adequately the realities of the Byzantine world, it cannot ignore the ideas of the Byzantines themselves about the content and boundaries of their world. One should bear in mind that the Byzantine idea of the composition of the Byzantine world does not coincide with modern ones, which are affected by modern conceptions of the nation-state. The discrepancy arises from the fact that the territorial boundaries of Byzantine identity did not coincide with the factual political borders of the Byzantine State. One of many examples of this is the case of Anatolia, where the Greek Orthodox population continued to be considered as Byzantines at least potentially. The Orthodox Greeks in Muslim Anatolia themselves regarded their identity as virtually Byzantine. Both the *allo-ethnonym* and *auto-ethnonym* of the Anatolian Greek population were the same: Rūmī/Rūm/Urūm, which was identical to Ῥωμαῖοι. The concept of Rūm/Ῥωμαῖος, that is, a Greek-speaking Orthodox Roman, did not coincide with political allegiance at that time. The Ῥωμαῖοι, Romans, might live both inside the empire and outside it. Factually, the notion of Ῥωμαῖος denoted mainly ethnic (Greek), confessional (Orthodox) and cultural (Byzantine) affiliation. Allegiance was a matter of personal relationships with the authorities. Residence of a person in this or that state implied his juridical allegiance as a taxpayer, while specific

64 Shukurov, 'The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos', p. 26, no. 49. See Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα τουρκικής προελεύσης*, p. 184 (Φουρνουτζῆς, etc.).

65 Zerzelides, 'Τοπωνυμικό της Άνω Ματσούκας', p. 286.

66 Uspensky and Beneshevich (eds), *Вазелонские акты*, no. 27.8 (second half of the thirteenth century).

67 Ibid., no. 28.2 (second half of the thirteenth century).

68 Ibid., no. 108.4–5 (second half of the thirteenth century).

69 Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), vol. 1, p. 18.

relationships with the emperor or the sultan and their deputies might have been the grounds for his political allegiance.

Political affiliation, on the part of Rūm/Ῥωμαῖος, was secondary and incidental, in contrast to the generic and substantive characteristic of belonging by birth to the Greek-speaking Orthodox Roman nation. More important was the religious unity of Orthodox Anatolia under the patriarchate of Constantinople, which continued to administrate Orthodox bishoprics and to intervene by making decisions on disputed issues relating to the inner life of local Orthodox communities.[70]

The Orthodox Greeks outside the borders of the empire were Romans whose 'Romanness' had a kind of deferred character. Simply crossing the political border and settling in the territory controlled by the Byzantines made their Romanness complete. Byzantium was positively accessible for refugees from the Seljuk lands; people might naturalize themselves successfully, having no linguistic and cultural barriers. Their resettlement in the territories under Byzantine control paralleled a sort of repatriation, of reunion with their true ambiance.

The geographical distribution of the Greek population in Muslim Asia Minor in the first half of the thirteenth century is not clear. It is not impossible that the Greeks might have constituted an ethnic majority in some large urban centres throughout the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm. However, we have no hard statistical data because of the informational gap mentioned above. Sometimes it is easier to say in which regions the Greeks were *not* present, having been ousted by the nomadic Turkmens. For instance, it is quite clear that, at the marginal edges of the Anatolian central plateau, in the areas of the so-called *uj*s (*uc*) borderland, the Greeks had been mostly forced out. Probably by the beginning of the thirteenth century most of northern Galatia, Phrygia, southern Paphlagonia, and some inland areas adjacent to the Byzantine Pontos, had been cleared of Greeks. Under the pressure of the Turkmen nomads they had emigrated to Western Anatolia, the Balkans, the Pontos, as well as to the central Anatolian plateau and coastal regions of Lycia and Pamphylia in all likelihood. The Greeks were rather numerous in city centres and rural areas in ancient Lycaonia, Cappadocia and Pamphylia. In north-eastern Anatolia the major cities of Sivas, Erzincan, Erzerum were mostly populated by Armenians and Greeks. The regions north and east of Erzerum were dominated by Armenians and Kartvelians.[71] The role of the Greek ethnic and cultural substratum

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[70] See for instance Laurent, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat*, vol. 4, nos. 1297–8.

[71] We still have no generalizing research on the Greeks of Asia Minor in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries; see for instance the publications of Spyros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1971); Vryonis, 'Byzantine and Turkish Societies', pp. 125–40; Spyros Vryonis, 'Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 29 (1975): pp. 43–71; Osman Turan, 'Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans', *Studia Islamica*, 1 (1953): pp. 65–100; Nevra Necipoğlu, 'The Coexistence of Turks and Greeks in Medieval Anatolia (Eleventh–Twelfth

in Muslim Asia Minor made an outstanding impact on the Muslim element proper. This essential unity of the Byzantine and Seljuk Anatolian worlds has recently been demonstrated by the conceptual studies of Michel Balivet and needs now to be incorporated into systematic research on the elementary level of individuals.[72]

The frontiers of the Byzantine Empire and its successors after 1204 were transparent for the to-and-fro movement of Greek groups and individuals. Some of the Anatolian Greeks might change their residence, moving in and out of a Byzantine state more than once during their lifetime. Below I adduce an example of a Greek Orthodox family, which by a quirk of fate found itself in between two worlds. These are the Greek relatives of the Seljuk sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwus II (b. *c.*1237–d. 1278/79): his mother and her two brothers, who played a remarkable role in the life of both the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm and Byzantium.

Προδουλία-*Bardūliya/Pardūliya (b. before 1220–d. after 1264)*

In the Persian spelling, the name of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwus II's mother was Bardūliya/Pardūliya (بردوليه), which originally, no doubt, was a Greek name.[73] Bar Hebraeus in his Arabic chronicle said that the mother of the sultan was Rūmī and 'a daughter of a priest'.[74] In Arabic and Persian usage of the time and the region, Rūmī had a rather specific ethno-confessional sense and is to be understood as a clear indication of her Greek Orthodox identity. Her origin from the family of a Greek priest is confirmed by Simon de Saint-Quentin: *hunc genuerat ipse de filia cujusdam sacerdotis Greci*.[75] William of Rubruck defines her as a

Centuries)', *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, 5 (1999–2000): pp. 58–76. Some retrospective light on the Greeks of pre-Ottoman Antolia is shed by the nineteenth-century material: Richard M. Dawkins, 'Modern Greek in Asia Minor', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 30 (1910): pp. 109–32 and 267–91; and Richard M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916). See also a recent study: Dimitri A. Korobeinikov, 'Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries. Part 1: The Two Patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch', *Al-Masaq*, 15 (2003): pp. 197–214; D. Korobeinikov, 'Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries. Part 2: The Time of Troubles', *Al-Masaq*, 17 (2005): pp. 1–29.

72 Michel Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul, 1994); Michel Balivet, *Mélanges byzantins, seldjoukides et ottomans* (Istanbul, 2005); Michel Balivet, *Turcobyzantiae: échanges régionaux, contacts urbains* (Istanbul, 2008).

73 Ibn Bībī, *El-Evamirü'l-Ala'iyye fi'l-umuri'l-Ala'iyye*, ed. A.S. Erzi (Ankara, 1956), pp. 472–3; *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjoucnameh d'Ibn-Bibi*, ed. M.H. Houtsma (Leiden, 1902), p. 213; Jazığyoğlu 'Ali, *Oğuzname*, manuscript of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orient. Quart. 1823, fol. 285; *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, transl. Herbert W. Duda (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 204.

74 Abu al-Faraj, *Mukhtasar tarikh al-duwal* (Beirut, 1890), p. 447.

75 Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. J. Richard (Paris, 1965), XXXII, line 26, p. 82.

Greek concubine.[76] The Christian identity of Bardūliya was also reported by the Byzantines. Pachymeres describes her as 'an extremely good Christian' (χριστιανῆ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὔσῃ).[77] Nikephoros Gregoras maintained that the Sultan 'Izz al-Din was 'a son of Christian ancestors' (χριστιανῶν τε ὑπῆρχε γονέων υἱός), seemingly implying under 'γονέων' not 'parents' but generally 'ancestors'.[78]

Undoubtedly, Bardūliya/Pardūliya was a Persian spelling of a Greek name, which is likely to be interpreted as Προδουλία, in the sense of 'one conferring oneself [to God]' (from πρόδουλος, 'serving as a slave', and προδουλόω, 'to enslave').[79] It probably paralleled popular Greek names with the second element -δουλία like Χριστοδουλία,[80] Θεοδουλία[81] and the male name Κυριακόδουλος,[82] a female version of which could certainly have existed. Although the name Προδουλία is not found in the Byzantine sources, as is well known, the Byzantines did not always follow church calendars and ancient tradition in giving names to their children: the list of Byzantine personal names abounds in unique male and female personal names, nicknames and sobriquets. In support of my interpretation it may also be noted that the transformation of adjectives and verbs into personal names was quite a normal practice.[83]

An alternative Greek name for Bardūliya could also be seen in *Παρδολέαινα, the feminine for Παρδολέων, which was popular in Anatolia in the thirteenth century and is found, in particular, in the acts of the monastery of Lembiotissa in the region of Smyrna.[84] However, the former option (Προδουλία) is more plausible because (1) there is some phonetic discrepancy between Bardūliya and Παρδολέαινα, and (2) it seems that Παρδολέων was a sobriquet, not a first name.

As I have said, Προδουλία was a priest's daughter; however, it is quite clear that, in Seljuk society, her family enjoyed rather a high status. Ibn Bībī calls her *mukhaddara Bardūliya* (مخدره بردوليه), i.e. 'Lady Prodoulia'. The honorary denomination *mukhaddara* derives from Arabic خدّر *khaddara* 'to keep (a

[76] I cite the old edition of *Voyage de Rubruquis en Tatarie*: Pierre Bergeron, *Voyages en Asie*, 2 vols (Paris, 1735), vol. 1, ch. XLIII, col. 149.

[77] Georges Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, ed. A. Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), II,24, vol. 1, p. 183.23.

[78] *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, eds L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829), vol. 1, IV,4, p. 94.13–14.

[79] The meaning 'to place smth. at smb.'s disposal or possession' for προδουλόω can be found, for instance, in the vita of St Theklas: 'προδουλωσαμένης αὐτοὺς τῷ ὕπνῳ': *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle*, ed. and transl. G. Dagron (Brussels, 1978), p. 382.29–30.

[80] Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 12, no. 31002.

[81] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 7215.

[82] Ibid., vol. 6, no. 13961.

[83] Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, vol. 1, p. XVI.

[84] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 4, pp. 133, 229; see also Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 9, nos. 21918–20.

girl, a woman) locked in'; hence, the substantivized participle مخدرة *mukhaddarat* meant a woman who lived locked up obeying the rules of piety and, as 'Alī Akbar Dehkhudā explains, 'has never worked and not served anybody'.[85] That word, in medieval Persian literature, was attached to noble brides and in particular to women from royal families.

Ibn Bībī's usage has its continuation in the Turkic semi-legendary tradition recorded by the late Ottoman historian Yazıcı-zāda 'Alī (a Turkish translator of Ibn Bībī's work at the beginning of the fifteenth century), comprehensively analysed by Paul Wittek. Yazıcı-zāda 'Alī argued that Prodoulia was a sister of Michael VIII Palaiologos.[86] Undoubtedly, Yazıcı-zāda 'Alī was wrong here;[87] however, the legendary genealogy of Prodoulia probably echoed the nobility of her lineage.

This woman had no easy fate. Shortly before 1237 she became the wife of the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw II, and soon afterwards gave birth to his first-born son, the future sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwus II. During that marriage she gave birth to at least one more child: a daughter, whose name we do not know. In 1243, it was probably Prodoulia who, along with her Greek mother-in-law Māh-Parī and her daughter, was handed over by the Cilician Armenians to the Mongols.[88]

After her husband's death, in late 1245 or early 1246, the real power in the sultanate was seized by the vizier Ṣāhib Shams al-Dīn of Isfahan.[89] His marriage to Προδουλία caused his contemporaries' disgust and condemnation.[90] According to

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85 Aliakbar Dehkhodâ, *Loghatnâme*, CD-Version (Tehran, 2000), wāzha: مخدرة *Фарҳанги забони тоҷикӣ (аз асри X то ибтодои асри XX)*, ed. Muhammad Sh. Shukurov, 2 vols (Moscow, 1968), vol. 1, p. 780.

86 Paul Wittek, 'Yazijioghlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja', *Bulletin of the British School of Oriental and African Studies*, 14 (1952): pp. 648 and 655; and Paul Wittek, 'Les Gagaouzes = Les gens de Kaykaus', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 17 (1951–52): p. 15.

87 Averkios Th. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453* (Munich, 1938), pp. 73–4 (no. 109).

88 Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, pp. 528, 536, 607–8; *Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, pp. 241, 245, 277; *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, transl. Duda, pp. 234, 264; Kirakos of Gandzak, *История Армении*, transl. L.A. Khanlarian (Moscow, 1976), p. 178; Ashot Galstian, *Армянские источники о монголах. Извлечения из рукописей XIII–XIV вв.* (Moscow, 1962), p. 47; Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century* (Harlow, 2001), p. 175.

89 Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, pp. 571–87; *Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, pp. 262–3.

90 Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire*, ed. Richard, XXXII,26, p. 83; Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 565. Duda's rendition of Ibn Bībī's passage is doubtful: see *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, transl. Duda, p. 248 and note i; *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj the son of Aaron*, ed. E.A.W. Budge, vol. 1, *Translation from Syriac* (London, 1932, reprinted Amsterdam, 1976), p. 412.

Bar Hebraeus, Prodoulia later gave birth to another son, whose fate is unknown.[91] In 1249 Shams al-Dīn Isfahānī was arrested and executed by his political adversaries.[92]

It seems that after the death of Ṣāhib Isfaḥānī Produlia did not marry again. In 1261 she went to Byzantium with her son the sultan ʻIzz al-Dīn. Reporting on her arrival in Byzantine territory, Pachymeres calls her ʻold' (γηραιᾷ μητρί).[93] If the birth of ʻIzz al-Dīn took place about 1237, in 1261 she was about 50. Prodoulia lived in Constantinople apparently with other women and children of the sultan's family, in one of the imperial palaces.[94] In 1264, during the flight of ʻIzz al-Dīn from Ainos (modern Enez) in south-western Thrace, she and other relatives were arrested in Constantinople.[95] The subsequent fate of Prodoulia can be guessed from the late semi-legendary tradition transmitted by Ibn Bībī and Yazıcı-zāda ʻAlī.

There are two versions concerning her fate. According to one of them, shortly after the escape of her son she committed suicide: having heard a false rumour of her son's death she threw herself from a tower.[96] The second version assumes that she was transferred from Constantinople to Berroia, where she remained until her death.[97] The latter version seems to be more plausible, since other family members of the sultan left in Byzantium were sent by Michael VIII to Berroia.[98]

We do not know the date of her death, but most likely she lived in Berroia for some time after 1264, long enough to confer her name on one of the towers in the city walls. Yazıcı-zāda ʻAlī relates that one of the towers was called Anakapusı, ʻThe Gates of the Mother', after ʻIzz al-Dīn's mother. Wittek suggests that Anakapusı was a distorted Turkish spelling of the original Greek name of the gates Ἀνάκαμψις in the sense of ʻannual payments'.[99] However, this suggestion seems to be rather artificial, since ἀνάκαμψις was a very rare technical fiscal

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 587; *Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, p. 267; *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj*, ed. Budge, vol. 1, p. 413.

[93] Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler, II,24, vol. 1, p. 183.23.

[94] Wittek, ʻYazijioghlu ʻAli', p. 648; Wittek, ʻLes Gagaouzes', p. 15.

[95] Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques,* ed. Failler, III,25, vol. 1, p. 313.14; Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 639; Wittek, ʻYazijioghlu ʻAli', p. 648; Wittek, ʻLes Gagaouzes', p. 15.

[96] Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 639; *Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, p. 298; *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, transl. Duda, p. 285.

[97] Wittek, ʻYazijioghlu ʻAli', pp. 648 and 655–6; Wittek, ʻLes Gagaouzes', p. 15.

[98] Vitalien Laurent, ʻUne famille turque au service de Byzance. Les Mélikès', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 49 (1956): pp. 349–68; Elizabeth Zachariadou, ʻΟἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἰζζεδὶν Καικαοὺς Β' στὴ Βέροια', *Μακεδονικά*, 6 (1964–65): pp. 62–74.

[99] Wittek, ʻYazijioghlu ʻAli', p. 656.

term, which never meant 'annual payments'.[100] On the other hand, one may suggest that Prodoulia was granted the tower as a sort of *pronoia*, and received payments made by those using the gates. However, this might also have been customs duties paid by visiting traders.

Brothers of Prodoulia Kīr Khāya (d. c.1265), Kīr Kadīd / Kyr Kattidios (d. after 1264)

Prodoulia had two brothers, the uncles of the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwus, who played a prominent role in the history of the Seljuk sultanate and Byzantium and whose biographies are still insufficiently studied.[101]

In Persian and Arab sources, both brothers were usually designated as اخوال *akhwāl* 'maternal uncles' (plural of خال *khāl*). Oriental sources refer to their Greek names in distorted Persian or Turkic spelling: probably the elder brother was called Kīr Khāya (كرخايه / كيرخايه *kīr khāya* in Persian, كرخيا *kir khayā* in Arabic) and the other one's name was Kīr Kadīd (كيركديت / كركديد *kīr kadīd* / *kīr kadīt*).[102] Oriental sour=ces emphasized the Christian faith of both brothers. Aqsarāyī describes Kīr Khāya as Rūmī, Roman (كرخايه رومى *kir khaya-i rūmī*), indicating his Greek Orthodox identity.[103] Ibn Bībī reports that two uncles were 'of Greek Orthodox faith (*rūmī-kēsh*)', while elsewhere he adds that Kīr Kadīd 'professes the faith of Jesus' (*dīn-i 'Isā 'alayhi al-salām dāsht*).[104] The Arab historian Rukn al-Dīn Baybars says that the two uncles 'were of Christian faith' (*wa humā 'alā dīn al-naṣrāniya*).[105]

The interpretation of the first element *kīr/kir* in the names of both brothers represents no difficulty: it is the Persian and Arabic spelling of Greek κῦρ / κῦρος / κύριος.

It is not easy to interpret the name of the senior uncle Khāya/Khayā. It is clear that likely vowels dominate in the original Greek name or nickname and it contains

[100] Nigel G. Wilson and Jean Darrouzès, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion', *Revue des études byzantines*, 26 (1968): p. 23, n. 22. See also Trapp *et alii*, *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität*, p. 80 (ἀνάκαμψις).

[101] See Turan, 'Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets', pp. 82–3; Olga S. Apanovich, 'К вопросу о должности кундастабла у Сельджукидов Рума в XIII в.: кундастабл руми и Михаил Палеолог', *Византийский временник*, 66 [91] (2007), pp. 171–92.

[102] Baybars al-Mansuri al-Dawadar, *Zubdat al-fikra fi ta'rikh al-Hijra: History of the Early Mamluk Period*, ed. D.S. Richards (Beirut–Berlin, 1998), pp. 73 and 93; Badr al-Din Mahmud ibn Ahmad 'Ayni, *'Iqd al-juman fi tarikh ahl al-zaman*, ed. M.M. Amin, vol. 1 *648–664 H/1250–1265 AD* (Cairo, 1987), pp. 321 and 387.

[103] Kerimüddin Mahmud Aksaraylı, *Müsameret ul-ahbar. Moğollar zamanında Turkiye selçukluları tarihi*, ed. O. Turan (Ankara, 1944), pp. 40, 82.

[104] Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, pp. 609, 638.

[105] Baybars, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 73.

either χ or γ. It may be that the Greek source of Khāya/Khayā was one of the following names unusual for an Iranian and Turkic ear: Χειονώ,[106] Χειότης[107] and Χειώτης,[108] Χιώτης.[109] The name Khāya had another semantic aspect. In Persian *khāya* (خايه) as applied to a person denotes 'eunuch, castrate'.[110] There is no doubt that Persian authors and Persian and Turkic-speaking Anatolians kept in mind the latter connotation of the name. Probably Khāya was a distortion of the original Greek name through assimilating it to the Persian *khāya*, 'castrate'. It is possible also that this nickname carried a pejorative meaning.

Regarding the Greek source for the name of the second brother Kadīd/Kadīt, it was very likely derived from the Greek name Καττίδιος, met in church calendars. The memory of the stoned (λιθοβοληθέντες) martyrs Καττίδιος and Καττιδιανός was kept on 5 August.[111] The name Καττίδιος is found in the Souda lexicon.[112] Linguistically the correspondence between the Persian Kadīd/Kadīt and Greek Καττίδιος is ideal.[113]

The drastic increase of the influence of the sultan's uncles apparently happened after 1254. This is not an appropriate place to go into all details of their activity in the sultanate, and I limit myself here to a short summary. The Seljuk authors accuse the Greek uncles of exercising a corrupting influence on the young sultan, who was at that time 17 years old. They continued to profess Christianity (like their sister Prodoulia) and intervened in the politics and administration of the sultanate. Their relations with the Muslim elite were far from harmonious, in particular because the Muslims were not happy with their Christian affiliation. Ibn Bībī accuses the uncles of sowing discord between their nephew 'Izz al-Dīn and his co-ruler and brother Rukn al-Dīn Qılıç Arslan, and thus instigating the civil war in the sultanate that soon erupted.[114]

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106 Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 12, nos. 30824–5.

107 Ibid., no. 30845.

108 Ibid., no. 30841.

109 Ibid., nos, 30841–6.

110 Aliakbar Dehkhodâ, *Loghatnâme*, wāzha: خايه .

111 *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano. Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), col. 869.37–9.

112 Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechishen Eigennamen*, p. 637.

113 An alternative option, which is linguistically acceptable, can be found in Trap *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 3: the name Ἑκατίδης (no. 5983), recorded in the acts of Lavra in 1316 (*Actes de Lavra*, eds P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou and S. Çirkoviç, 4 vols [Paris, 1970–82], vol. 2, p. 305). However, Ἑκατίδης was hardly identical to Kyr Kadīd because the former was of low social status, being only a *stratiotes*.

114 Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, pp. 608–10, 615; *Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, pp. 279, 282; *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, transl. Duda, pp. 265, 268; Aksaraylı, *Müsameret ul-ahbar*, ed. Turan, pp. 40 and 82.

However, the sole government of 'Izz al-Dīn, which was supported and directed by his Greek uncles, ended with a sudden Mongol invasion of Anatolia. As a result of the defeat inflicted by the Mongol general Bayju, the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn escaped for the first time in 1257 to the Nicaean Empire of Theodore II Laskaris, with whom he stayed for some time.[115]

Interestingly, the political weight of the Greek uncles of the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn did not rest on the authority of their nephew alone. After the flight of their nephew to Byzantium in 1257 they remained in the sultanate and felt themselves quite comfortable in Muslim Anatolia on the side of his brother Rukn al-Dīn.[116]

However, the sultan's uncles accompanied their nephew in his second flight to Byzantium in 1261. They resurface in the sources in 1263/64 in connection with the sultan's conspiracy against Michael VIII Palaiologos. We learn about the role of Kyr Kattidios, the younger brother, from Oriental sources. Ibn Bībī says that Kyr Kattidios accidentally heard about the conspiracy at the sultan's court and betrayed the conspirators immediately, by informing the emperor about it.[117] Apparently, the ethnic and religious identity of Kyr Kattidios prevailed over family ties to his nephew and his political allegiance as a Seljuk courtier. At that time Kyr Kattidios possessed a court title *sharabsalār*, i.e. of a 'wine-bearer'.

According to Baybars *Manṣūrī*, both brothers took the side of the emperor and informed him about the conspiracy. However, apparently, Baybars was wrong here, as Kyr Khāya was not in Constantinople at that time.[118] The following evidence forces us to think so. George Pachymeres mentions a certain sultan's uncle in connection with the conspiracy of 'Izz al-Dīn. According to Pachymeres, one of the sultan's uncles was a mediator between 'Izz al-Dīn and his Bulgarian and Golden Horde allies. It was due to him that the Bulgar and Mongol help reached 'Izz al-Dīn in time. Pachymeres calls the mediator 'one of the relatives [of the sultan], very famous in the northern coast of the Black Sea' (τῶν τινι συγγενῶν, ἐπιδόξῳ γε ὄντι κατὰ τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον μέρη τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου).[119] In two other places Pachymeres explicitly refers to him as an uncle of the sultan (θεῖος).[120] There is no reason not to trust Ibn Bībī, who argues that Kyr Kattidios was with the sultan at that time. Hence Pachymeres surely had in mind another uncle, namely Kyr Khāya. Failler's assumption that Pachymeres' uncle was identical to Sarı Saltıq is certainly groundless and wrong.[121]

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115 Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 625; *Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, p. 289.

116 Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 623.

117 Ibid., pp. 638–9.

118 Baybars, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ed. Richards, p. 93.

119 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler, III,25, vol. 1, p. 301.17–18.

120 Ibid., III,25, vol. 1, pp. 303.7, 19; cf. István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 74.

121 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler, vol. 1, p. 301, n. 6.

From Pachymeres' account one may conclude that Kyr Khāya went north with the Turks who came with 'Izz al-Dīn in 1261 and who were sent to the northern Danubian border into Dobrudja by Michael VIII. Seemingly, Kyr Khāya was one of the leaders of those Turks, because Pachymeres reports that he was 'very famous' in these regions.

Pachymeres also details some of the activities of Kyr Khāya during the conspiracy of his nephew. He went to the Bulgarian king Constantine Tikh and persuaded him to participate in the expedition against Byzantium. He acted through the wife of Constantine, Irene Laskarina, daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, who dreamed of revenge for her younger brother John. Kyr Khāya also involved the Mongols of the Golden Horde by sending envoys to Nogai, the nephew of the khan of the Golden Horde Berke (1257–67).[122] However, it should be noted that two independent versions of the events by the Persian historians Ibn Bībī and Aqsarāyī maintain that the sultan appealed to the khan Berke himself, but not to Nogai. No doubt Yazıcı-zāda 'Alī had at his disposal some information, albeit vague, about some 'brother', a mediator, who organized the attack of the Mongols against Byzantium. In the light of the role of Kyr Khāya, there can be little doubt that Yazıcı-zāda 'Alī's 'brother' was one of the Greek uncles but not the brother of the sultan.[123] It is also worth noting one more version of the anti-Byzantine intrigue related by Aqsarāyī. Aqsarāyī reports that the mediator between the Golden Horde and 'Izz al-Dīn was the latter's paternal aunt (i.e. the sister of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw II), who was married to Khan Berke.[124] It is not impossible that Kyr Khāya persuaded the Mongol Khan or Nogai with her help.

In the ensuing raid of the Bulgarians and Tatars in Thrace the Turks of Dobrudja apparently participated.[125] It is possible that among them was Kyr Khāya himself. Soon after the release of 'Izz al-Dīn from his Byzantine captivity and his settling in Solkhat in the Crimea, we again find Kyr Khāya in Anatolia. In 1265, he was executed by the sultan Rukn al-Dīn IV. His dead body was left to be torn to pieces by dogs, which was a highly humiliating punishment. Aqsarāyī explains that this was due to the personal hatred of the sultan Rukn al-Dīn: in 1254 Rukn al-Dīn had been imprisoned in the castle of Burghlu by his brother and Kyr Khāya was the jailer who humiliated him severely.[126] However, there could be a

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122 Ibid., III,25, vol. 1, p. 303.20–25.

123 Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 639; Aksaraylı, *Müsameret ul-ahbar*, ed. Turan, pp. 75–6. It is noteworthy that an echo of the mediation mission of Kyr Khāya is found in the history of Yazıcı-zāda 'Alī, who, apparently, tried to edit and supplement Ibn Bībī's relevant passage but as a result created a rather obscure text. The Ottoman historian wrote that 'God Almighty inspires the brother of the Sultan ['Izz al-Dīn] to send news to the khan of the Qipchaq steppes Berke-Khan and to ask him: "rescue [my] brother". [Berke in response] sent an army' (Jazığyoğlu 'Ali, *Oğuzname*, fol. 368r).

124 Aksaraylı, *Müsameret ul-ahbar*, ed. Turan, p. 75.

125 See Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 77–9.

126 Aksaraylı, *Müsameret ul-ahbar*, ed. Turan, p. 82.

more immediate reason for such a demonstratively brutal execution. ʻIzz al-Dīn dreamed of returning to his homeland and Kyr Khāya might well have been sent to Anatolia by him.

The Greek uncles of the sultan ʻIzz al-Dīn played a prominent role in both Byzantine and Seljuk politics of the time and eventually separated: Kyr Kattidios betrayed his nephew and took the side of the Byzantines, while Kyr Khāya seems to have remained faithful to him until the end. We know nothing about the subsequent fate of Kyr Kattidios, but one can guess that he continued to stay in Byzantium after 1264 and probably became fully integrated into Byzantine society.[127]

* * *

However, only a lesser part of the Rūmīs/Ῥωμαῖοι of Anatolia chose to move under the political sway of the Byzantine emperors in the West or in the Pontos. As might be expected, we know mostly about the Seljuk nobility of Greek descent. The *ḥājib* Zacharias, at the turn of the thirteenth century, was a courtier and confidant of the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw I. Ibn Bībī characterizes him as an expert in the five languages that people of Anatolia used:

> Zacharias had perfectly learned the five languages which most people in Rūm spoke, and acquired limitless awareness about all their subtleties. He so skillfully used the languages that if he spoke one of these languages it seemed to strangers that he was a native speaker by birth and belonged to the people of that language speaking their native idiom.[128]

Under the five languages current in Anatolia Ibn Bībī seems to imply Persian, Greek, Armenian, Turkish and Arabic. Judging by his name Zakariyā ← Gk. Ζαχαρίας, he might well have been Urum/Ῥωμαῖος. As the subject of the Seljuk sultan he carried out important missions abroad, in particular in the Byzantine Empire.[129]

The Greek physician Basileios (Fāsīl) of the sultan ʻAlā al-Dīn Kay Qubād once treated the sultan successfully, lancing the boil on his neck. The sultan made him a rich man by asking each member of his entourage who was happy about

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127 For further details on the family of ʻIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwus II in Byzantium see Rustam M. Shukurov, ʻСемейство ʻИзз ал-Дина Кай-Кавуса II в Византии', *Византийский временник*, 67 [92] (2008): pp. 89–116.

128 Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 79.

129 Osman Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye. Siyâsi Tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye (1071–1318)* (Istanbul, 1971), pp. 272–3; Vladimir Gordlevsky, *Государство Сельджукидов Малой Азии* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1941), pp. 71, 85 (Gordlevsky's rendition of the relevant passage is not accurate).

his recovery to make Basileios a present.[130] One may recall well-known cases of the numerous noble Byzantine refugees who settled in the Seljuk state. Some of them, like the future emperor Andronikos I Komnenos, stayed in the sultanate temporarily; some of them took root in Muslim Anatolia and remained there forever, like some members of the Komnenian and Gabrades families.[131]

Examples of the same kind may be multiplied; here I have outlined just some of the most important directions of possible prosopographic research of the Anatolian Greek population. Such a study would be in complete conformity with the Byzantine concept of 'Byzantineness', revealing the factual configuration of the Byzantine world of the time, as it was seen by the Byzantines themselves.

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130 Ibn Bībī, ed. Erzi, p. 297; *Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, pp. 125–6; *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, transl. Duda, p. 128.

131 Konstantinos Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, 2 vols (Thessalonike, 1984), vol. 2, nos. 84 and 87, 158, and vol. 1, pp. 473–5; Anthony Bryer, 'A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades, c. 979–c. 1653', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 12 (1970) (reprinted in Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond*, article IIIa): pp. 178–81 (nos. 6–13); Anthony Bryer, Sterios Fassoulakis and Donald M. Nicol, 'A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades. An Additional Note', *Byzantinoslavica*, 36 (1975) (reprinted in Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond*, no. IIIb): pp. 39–40; Claudia Sode, 'Ein Siegel des Ihtiyar ad-Din al-Hasan ibn Gafras', *XX^e Congrès international des études byzantines. Pré-actes*, vol. 2, *Tables rondes* (Paris, 2001), p. 65.

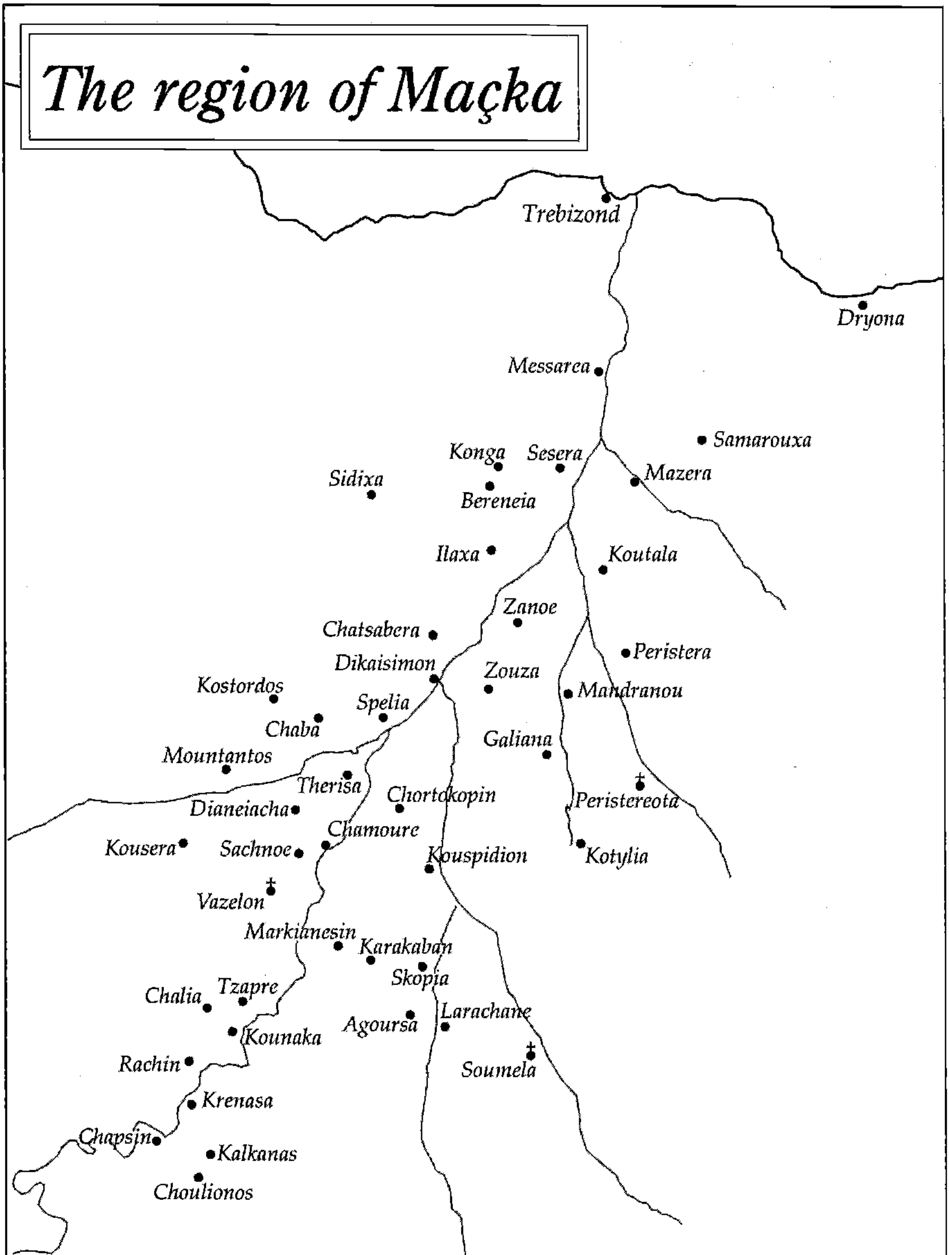
Appendix
List of the Persons Mentioned in the Acts of Vazelon for the 1240s–60s

In the following list, family name or sobriquet stands first and is followed by baptismal name. In parentheses, I indicate all documents referring to a particular person even if some of them date to later periods up to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The number in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (*PLP*) is mentioned when available. In some cases, it is impossible to understand whether the same name in different documents refers to the same person or rather to two or more namesakes. It should be noted also that the dating of many documents is still doubtful and may change as a result of specialist study.

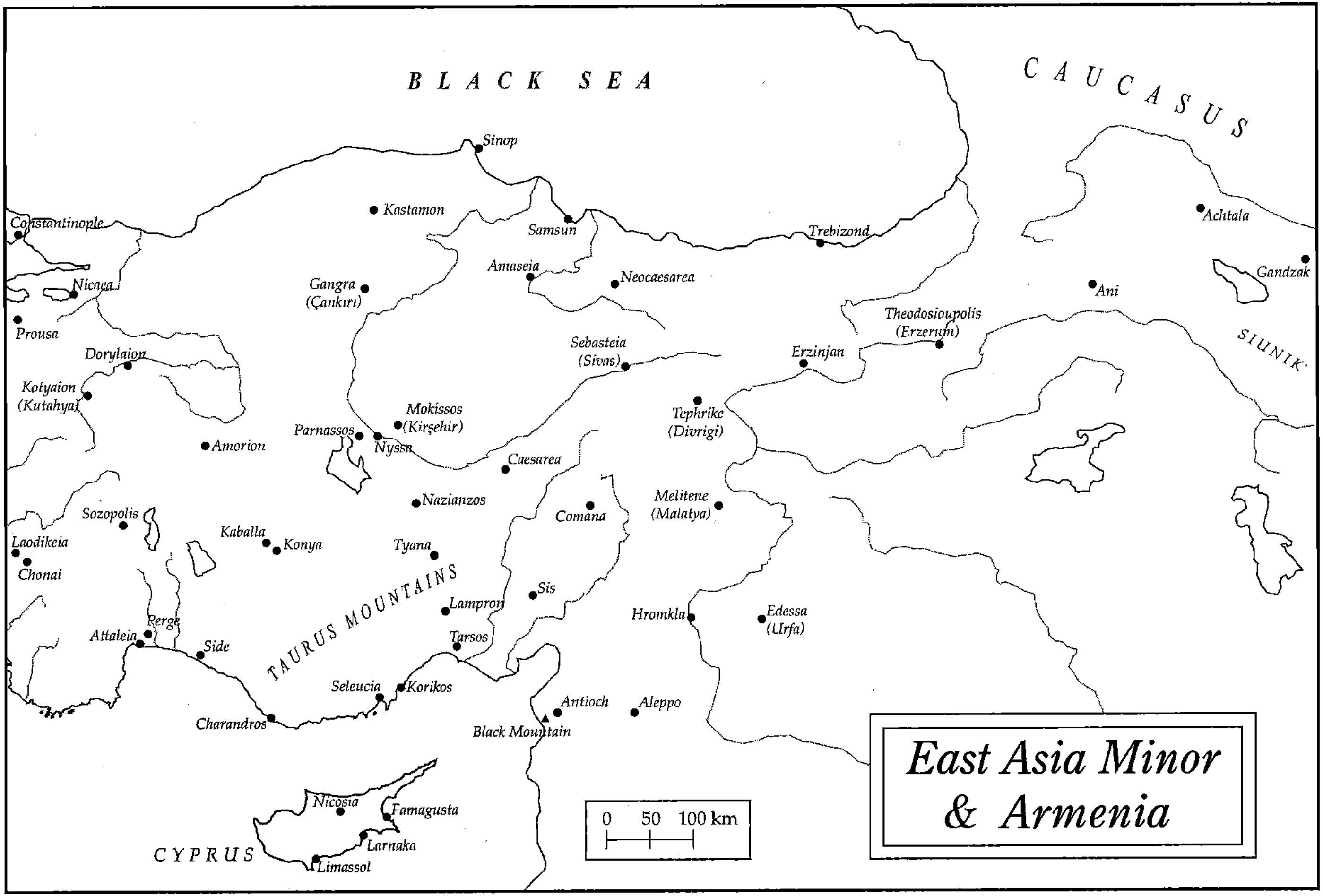
1. Ἀλαμάντης, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 25), *PLP*, 544
2. Ἀλευράβα, Ξανθάνα (no. 38), *PLP*, 633
3. Ἀλπούσης, Γεώργιος (no. 45, 79), *PLP*, 700
4. Ἀνδρονικόπουλος, Βασίλειος (no. 24), *PLP*, 950
5. Ἄννα, ἀνευσιὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Τζαβαλίτου? (no. 79)
6. Ἀπαράκης (no. 16; cf. no. 105), toponym derived from a personal name, *PLP*, 1143
7. Ἀρώνης (no. 79), *PLP*, 1470
8. Βαλεντζιάκος, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 37), *PLP*, 2075
9. Βαλεντζιάκων, Ἰωαννάκης (nos. 14, 55, 60; cf. no. 106), *PLP*, 2077
10. Βαρδαλῆς, Θεόδωρος (no. 53),
11. Βουβαλᾶς, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 64), *PLP*, 3009
12. Βουβαλᾶς, Λέων (no. 111)
13. Γιαγούπενα, καλογρέα τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου (no. 37), *PLP*, 4148
14. Γουβαλᾶς, Πάγκαλος (nos. 25, 83), *PLP*, 3011
15. Δουβερίτης, Ῥωμανός (nos. 83, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 93), *PLP*, 5654
16. Ἐξωτικόπουλος, Κώνστας (no. 38), *PLP*, 6075
17. Ζάγανος (no. 79), *PLP*, 6414
18. Ζαχαρίας, Γεώργιος (no. 16)
19. Ζαχαριόπουλος, Γεώργιος (no. 54), *PLP*, 6500
20. Ζεπύρος, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 15)
21. Ζιγανίτας (no. 111; cf. no. 107)
22. Ζιγανίτας, Λέων (nos. 18, 71, 72, 111; cf. nos. 86, 106), *PLP*, 6573
23. Ζούζιλα, Γεώργιος (no. 72; cf. no. 101), *PLP*, 6604
24. Ζωσιμᾶς, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 24), *PLP*, 6678
25. Θεόδωρος, παπᾶς (no. 19), probably identical to Θεόδωρος Σαλαφούντας, or Θεοδώρητος Σαπούας, or Θεόδωρος Σαπούας (cf. Uspensky and Beneshevich [eds], *Вазелонские акты*, p. CXX, CXXXIII of Index)?, *PLP*, 7465
26. Θεοφιλόπουλος, Θεοδώρα (no. 16)
27. Θεόφιλος, Θεόδωρος (no. 49)
28. Θωμόπουλος, Ἰωάννης (no. 21), *PLP*, 7804

29. Καλή (no. 15)
30. Καλοκύρης (no. 37), *PLP*, 10636
31. Καμάχης, Ἰωάννης (nos. 21, 22, 24), *PLP*, 10803
32. Καμαχινή, Μαρία (no. 23), *PLP*, 10804
33. Καμελαύκης, Κώνστας (no. 71), *PLP*, 10805
34. Κάναρις, Νικηφόρος (no. 111; cf. no. 106), *PLP*, 10894
35. Κανζίκης, Γεώργιος (no. 61, 83), *PLP*, 10907
36. Καρπέτης, Ἰωάννης (no. 26), *PLP*, 11246
37. Καρπέτης, Σάβας (no. 18; cf.: no. 28), *PLP*, 11247
38. Καστελίτης, Κωνσταντῖνος (nos. 36, 45, 58, 68), *PLP*, 11383
39. Καφούλης (no. 37), *PLP*, 11569
40. Καφούλης, Θεόδωρος (no. 15, cf. nos. 65, 66)
41. Καφούλης, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 49)
42. Κοντοϊωάννης (no. 24), the same as Ῥοντοϊωάννης (no. 115)?, *PLP*, 13064
43. Κοντός, Ἰωάννης (no. 19), *PLP*, 13104
44. Κοσμᾶς, ἐπίσκοπος Σατάλου (no. 53; cf. nos. 89, 90, 92), *PLP*, 13268
45. Κουβδίκης (no. 79), *PLP*, 13359
46. Κουγιάβα, Ξαθάνα (no. 15)
47. Κούτζουρος, Μιχάλης (no. 23), *PLP*, 92459
48. Κριθηνάντοι (no. 79), *PLP*, 13764
49. Λυκούδης (no. 38)
50. Μακρός, Γεώργιος (no. 23), *PLP*, 16419
51. Μανπλάνος (no. 23), *PLP*, 16758
52. Μάστορος, Λέων (no. 18), *PLP*, 17241
53. Ματζουκαΐτης, Γεώργιος (no. 64), *PLP*, 17272
54. Μουντανῖται (no. 79)
55. Μουρμοῦ, Κωνσταντῖνος (nos. 14, 55, 73, 80), *PLP*, 19521
56. Μουχουδενός, Θεόδωρος (no. 24), *PLP*, 19598
57. Νέος, ἀναγνώστης (no. 38), *PLP*, 20101
58. Νικηφόρος, παπᾶς (no. 49)
59. Ξαθάνα, ἀνευσιὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Τζαβαλίτου (no. 79), *PLP*, 20787
60. Ξηρός, Βασίλειος (no. 24), *PLP*, 20917
61. Ὁμοχωρήτης (Ὁμοχωρίτης), Ῥωμανός (no. 45), *PLP*, 21067
62. Παλατῖνος, Βασίλειος (nos. 43, 55), *PLP*, 21565
63. Παῦλος, παπᾶς (no. 38), *PLP*, 22136
64. Πελαγιώτης, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 55), *PLP*, 22263
65. Πετάσιοι (no. 79)
66. Πολεμάρχης, Ἀνδρόνικος (no. 25), *PLP*, 23465
67. Πολεμάρχης, Θεόδωρος (no. 25), *PLP*, 23466
68. Πραιτώρης (no. 23), *PLP*, 23670
69. Πρωτοπαπαδόπουλος, Ἁγνή (nos. 17, 18, cf. no. 108), *PLP*, 23878
70. Πυρόπουλος, Ἰωάννης (no. 49)
71. Πυρόπουλος, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 49)

72. Πυρός, Λέων (no. 49, cf. no. 106), *PLP*, 23924
73. Σαλαφούντας, Θεόδωρος (no. 19), *PLP*, 24740
74. Σαλαφούντας, Λέων (nos. 15, 16, 49)
75. Σαλαφούντας, Πανκράτιος (no. 19), *PLP*, 24741
76. Σαπόπουλος, Μιχαήλ (no. 83), *PLP*, 24817
77. Σαπούας, Βασίλειος (nos. 33, 36, 39, 50, 57, 111), *PLP*, 24824
78. Σαπούας, Γεώργιος (no. 72), *PLP*, 24825
79. Σαπούας, Θεόδωρος (nos. 14, 17, 21, 55, 57, 79; cf. no. 101), *PLP*, 24826
80. Σαπούας, Θεόδωρος, στρατιώτης (no. 111), *PLP*, 24827
81. Σαπούα, Θεοδώρητος, ἱερομόναχος (no. 18), the same as Θεόδωρος Σαπούας (no. 14)?
82. Σαπούας, Ἰωαννάκης (nos. 36, 45; 50, 54, 84, cf. no. 106), *PLP*, 24830
83. Σαπούας, Κωνσταντῖνος (nos. 79, 104), *PLP*, 24832
84. Σάχας, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 21), *PLP*, 24972
85. Σοῦτος (no. 37), *PLP*, 26380
86. Σούτων, Κώνστας (no. 54), *PLP*, 26382
87. Σπανόπουλος, Ἰωαννίκιος, also Ἰωαννίκης (nos. 33, 44, 45, 57, 64, 74, 118), *PLP*, 26462
88. Τζαβαλάκης, Ἀνδρόνικος (no. 79), *PLP*, 27602
89. Τζαβαλίτης, Κωνσταντῖνος (no. 79), *PLP*, 27605
90. Τζαρόπουλος, Φωκᾶς (no. 38), *PLP*, 27805
91. Τζαρούας (no. 38), *PLP*, 27806
92. Τζαρούας, Γεώργιος (no. 23), *PLP*, 27809
93. Τζαρχαλίνα, Μαρία (no. 38), *PLP*, 27812
94. Τζερτεύης, Θεόδωρος (no. 54), *PLP*, 27889
95. Τζερτεύης, Φωκᾶς (no. 16)
96. Τυμούλης (no. 79), *PLP*, 29408
97. Φληντόνης, ἱερεύς (no. 37), *PLP*, 29979
98. Φουρνουτζιώτης (no. 49), toponym derived from a personal name, *PLP*, 30050
99. Φρυγάνος, Λέων (no. 37), *PLP*, 30191
100. Χαλαμάνης, Ἰωάννης (no. 25), *PLP*, 30372
101. Χαμούρης, Κωνσταντῖνος (nos. 57, 58; cf. no. 118), *PLP*, 30566
102. Χαντζόης, Ἰωάννης (no. 38), *PLP*, 30594
103. Χουρτζιριώτης, Εὐστάθιος, ἱερεύς (no. 79), *PLP*, 30972



Based upon Anthony Bryer, 'Rural Society in Matzouka', p. 54, fig. 1.


East Asia Minor & Armenia
BLACK SEA
CAUCASUS
SIUNIK'
Sinop
Kastamon
Constantinople
Samsun
Trebizond
Achtala
Gandzak
Nicaea
Prousa
Gangra (Çankırı)
Amaseia
Neocaesarea
Ani
Theodosioupolis (Erzerum)
Erzinjan
Sebasteia (Sivas)
Dorylaion
Kotyaion (Kutahya)
Mokissos (Kirşehir)
Parnassos
Nyssa
Tephrike (Divrigi)
Amorion
Caesarea
Nazianzos
Melitene (Malatya)
Comana
Sozopolis
Kaballa
Konya
Tyana
Laodikeia
Chonai
TAURUS MOUNTAINS
Sis
Lampron
Hromkla
Edessa (Urfa)
Perge
Attaleia
Side
Tarsos
Seleucia
Korikos
Antioch
Aleppo
Charandros
Black Mountain
Nicosia
Famagusta
Larnaka
Limassol
CYPRUS
0 50 100 km

Chapter 10

The Eastern Mediterranean in the Thirteenth Century: Identities and Allegiances The Peripheries: Armenia

Robert W. Thomson

In this chapter I address the theme of our colloquium from the Armenian point of view. How do Armenian sources present the people and institutions that they call Byzantine? More particularly, what do Armenians have to say about Byzantium during that period when Constantinople itself had fallen under Latin rule, i.e. from 1204 to 1261? So in what follows I shall be concerned with texts written in the Armenian language. A general survey of Armenian sources is given in the Bibliography below, even if some of the texts are not cited in the notes to this chapter.

First, however, we need to clarify two terms: 'Armenia', and the Armenian for 'Byzantium'. The definition of 'Armenia' and 'Armenian' has always been ambiguous. Very rarely has there been a unified political entity covering the whole area where the language was spoken. And after the collapse of the Arsacid kingdom in 425, the geographical definition of Armenia becomes vague indeed. The brief medieval kingdoms of a fragmented Armenia in the tenth and eleventh centuries soon passed. A trickle of Armenian emigration westwards, encouraged by Byzantine policy, became a flood following the Turkish invasions. Gradually, in the shadow of the Taurus mountains, some Armenians found new homes in multiethnic Cilicia, consolidating their control during the course of more than a century, until only five years before Constantinople fell to the Latins Prince Leo was crowned king in Tarsos. Armenians in Greater Armenia found themselves under the control of various Turkish principalities, save for those areas that came within the new Georgian imperium. And the ever-expanding Armenian diaspora now reached across the Black Sea to the Crimea. What does 'Armenia' mean in these circumstances?[1]

[1] For the historical background see Gérard Dédéyan (ed.), *Histoire des Arméniens* (Toulouse, 1982); Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2 vols (New York, 1997), Cyril Toumanoff, 'Armenia and Georgia', in Joan M. Hussey (ed.), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, *The Byzantine Empire. Part I: Byzantium and its Neighbours* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 593–637.

These groups of Armenians were not totally cut off from each other. There were ecclesiastical links with communities far and wide, there was extensive travel of scholars and legates between Cilicia, Greater Armenia and Jerusalem, and there was a common adherence to the traditions of the Gregorian Church. There were also internal centrifugal forces. After the patriarchal see was removed from Ani, local jealousies and rivalries caused schisms. Some Armenians became, or remained, members of the Chalcedonian Church; others found the advantages of Islam too great to resist.[2] Only in Cilicia was there any centralizing authority, though here too, where the Western Latin influence to which he owed his crown caused King Leo significant problems, division abounded. And only from Cilicia were there direct contacts with the Byzantine rulers in exile.

The words 'Rome' and 'Roman' in their Armenian guise also carried ambiguity. Rarely did an Armenian author specifically distinguish Old- and New Rome, except when describing Constantine's founding of the new capital. Constantine, of course, was a great Armenian hero. The first Christian emperor had supposedly received King Trdat, first Christian king of Armenia, with St Gregory the Illuminator in Old Rome. The tradition of an alliance, forged on that occasion between Constantine and Trdat, was to have a long and influential hold on the Armenian imagination.[3] To this day the four 'believing kings' commemorated in the Armenian liturgy are: Abgar, Constantine, Trdat and Theodosius.[4] But until the crusaders burst upon the Armenian scene, 'Rome' normally meant Constantinople. The subjects of the emperor of Constantinople were known either as 'Greeks' (*Yoynk'*, from the Greek for 'Ionians'), or as 'Romans' (*Horomk*). The capital itself is normally a variant of *Kostandnupolis*, though occasionally *Biwzandion* is found. The form *Biwzandea* occurs with reference to the patriarchate, not the empire.[5] On the other hand, after

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2 The usual Armenian term for Muslim is *aylazgi*, lit. 'one of a different nation, foreigner', which is used in the Old Testament for the Philistines. Armenians also used the word 'Turk', *T'urk'*, which lends itself to deliberate ambiguity with the term for 'dung', *t'rik'*. Thus Vardan Arewelts'i, *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Hayots'*, ed. L. Alishan (Venice, 1862; reprinted Delmar, NY, 1991), p. 89, calls the emperor Constantine Kopronymos *t'rk'azhołov*, 'gatherer of Turks/dung', after his victory over the Tachiks, no doubt influenced by the Greek epithet.

3 For the later development of this episode, first described in the *History* of Agat'angełos, see Robert W. Thomson, 'Constantine and Trdat in Armenian Tradition', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 50 (1997): pp. 277–89. See also the final paragraph of this chapter.

4 Theodosius I was remembered for his support of the Council of Nicaea at the council of 381 in Constantinople. Theodosius II is the subject of extensive praise for his piety by the Armenian adapter of Socrates Scholasticus' *Ecclesiastical History*.

5 *Biwzandatsi* occurs three times in the *History* of Movses Khorenats'i, but only with reference to the bishop of Constantinople. The form *Biwzandia* is found in Arak'el Balishets'i's *Lament on the Fall of Constantinople*; see Avedis K. Sanjian, 'Two Contemporary Armenian Elegies on the Fall of Constantinople, 1143', *Viator*, 1 (1970): pp. 223–61.

the fall of Constantinople in 1204 'Romans' more frequently meant the subjects of the Seljuks of Konya, not the Greeks of the empire of Nicaea. And a singular form, 'the Roman', *Horomts'i*, can mean the sultan of Rũm. Of course, if the historian is discussing a dispute in Jerusalem between Armenians and 'Romans' about the proper date of Easter and the ceremony of the miraculous fire, these Romans are Chalcedonian Greeks.[6]

The period of the Nicene Empire is covered by a number of Armenian historians, some of them quite well known. The most significant *Chronicle* written in Cilicia is that attributed to Smbat the Constable, brother of King Het'um.[7] In 1265 he also composed a *Lawcode*, adapting the earlier code of Mkhit'ar Gosh (written in Greater Armenia in 1184) to contemporary conditions in Cilician Armenia, by then heavily influenced by western customs.[8] But the attribution of the *Chronicle* to Smbat has been challenged on linguistic grounds: the latter is in good classical Armenian; the *Lawcode* is written in medieval dialect. That the same author might compose two so different works in different styles is not implausible, given the different readership involved.[9] Be that as it may, the author of the *Chronicle* was certainly well informed about events at the Cilician court in Sis. Unfortunately, there is a significant loss of folios in the oldest manuscript, and the section covering events from 1229 to 1251 is lost. This manuscript was not published until 1956. Earlier editions of the *Chronicle* are based on later manuscripts that omit a good deal of detail.

Two major historical works were composed in Greater Armenia by fellow pupils of Vanakan vardapet, whose own *History* is lost. Kirakos, from Gandzak in the eastern Caucasus, and Vardan, whose birthplace is not known, both died in 1271. Their Histories are very different. Vardan's is a summary of earlier sources, designed as a handbook of Armenian history rather than a detailed exposition of contemporary events. This fits his scholarly approach as a widely travelled teacher and prolific author of commentaries.[10] Kirakos, though beginning with a summary account of the development of the Armenian Church from the time of Gregory the Illuminator, devotes the bulk of his work to the thirteenth century and his own experiences in Greater Armenia. It is of particular interest for information about Georgia, the Seljuks, and especially the Mongols.

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[6] E.g. *Shorter Chronicles*: *Manr Zhamanakagrut'yunner, XIII–XVIII dareri*, ed. H. Hakobyan, 2 vols (Erevan, 1951–56), vol. 1, p. 37. For the debates between Armenians and Greeks on the date of Easter see Avedis K. Sanjian, 'Crazatik "Erroneous Easter" – A Source of Greco-Armenian Religious Controversy', *Studia Caucasica*, 1 (1966): pp. 26–47.

[7] The earliest version of his *Chronicle* is attested in a manuscript of the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century (Venice, 1308), i.e. written within half a century of Smbat's death in 1275.

[8] The edition by Karst is of great value for its historical and linguistic information.

[9] See the Introduction to Dédéyan's translation of the *Chronicle*.

[10] See the Introduction to the translation of his *Chronicle* by Thomson.

From these three historians one would hardly guess that the Byzantine Empire had suffered a nearly mortal blow in 1204. Kirakos and Vardan make no reference to the fall of the capital, nor do two other historians of the period: Step'annos Orbelean, who died in 1304, and Grigor of Akants', whose *History of the Mongols* goes down to 1271. Nor is it mentioned by the two significant Chroniclers: Mkhit'ar Ayrivanets'i, whose work ends at 1328, or the Continuator to Samuel of Ani. Smbat, however, does refer to the fall of Constantinople, curiously placing the event under the year 1207. He states that the Counts (*koms*) of the Venetians and of Flanders took the city from the Greeks (*Yoynk'*) and slaughtered or expelled everyone, so from then on the kingdom of the Greeks was removed from Constantinople. He adds that a Greek called Laskaris captured Nicaea and numerous other towns as far as Smyrna, and ruled over them up to the borders of Sultan Khosrov-shah.[11] A very brief *Chronicle* of the thirteenth century places the fall of Constantinople in 1204.[12] Otherwise – with a very interesting exception – Armenian authors are silent. Only Het'um of Korikos has the right date; but he hardly counts as an Armenian historian. His work is a rendering of French sources into Armenian; he was not interested at all in Greater Armenia, but in the Crusader states, Cyprus, the Papacy, and events in western Europe.[13]

The exception is one of the hundreds of scribes whose comments survive in Armenian colophons of the thirteenth century. A manuscript containing the Commentary on Luke by Ignatios (a twelfth-century Armenian theologian) was copied in 1204 by a scribe, Grigor at Hromkla, on the Euphrates, which was then the see of the Armenian Katholikos.[14] In a lengthy colophon Grigor refers to the afflictions caused by Muslim attacks, to the pious king Levon crowned by the kings of the Greeks and Romans, who ruled over Cilicia like queen T'amar over the Georgians, and to the victories of the Georgian generals Zak'are and Ivane over the enemies of the Cross. In this stormy time, says Grigor, the troops of the valiant race of the Romans (*Horomayets'i*) came to *Biuzandion*, which is called Constantinople. The king of Constantinople did not wish to unite with them, as Christians should, but waged war with them and tried to prevent the road to salvation. To cut the story short, God was on the side of the Romans against the Greeks, as in the time of Israel against the Egyptians. The king of the Greeks fled at night; the Romans captured the impregnable city, seized treasures of unsurpassed number, and made a certain Count Baldwin king. This newly consecrated (*norentsay*) king

11 Smbat, *Chronicle*: *Smbatay Sparapeti. Taregirk'*, ed. S. Agelean (Venice, 1956), pp. 215–16.

12 *Shorter Chronicles*, ed. Hakobyan, vol. 1, p. 37.

13 The title of his *Chronicle* explains his procedure: *Patmut'iwn Khronikonin zor nuast tsaray K'ristosi Het'um Ter Kurikawsoy p'okhets'i i Frang groy i t'uin Hayots' 745* [= 1296 AD], 'History [in the form] of a Chronicle that I, the humble servant of Christ Het'um, Lord of Korikos, *translated* from French in the year of the Armenians 745'.

14 For the history of Hromkla see Hanspeter Hanisch, *Hromklay, die armenische Klosterfestung am Euphrat* (Bregenz, 2002).

sent a message with the news to Levon, king of our nation, to inform him of events. Grigor adds that after an initial sadness we rejoiced in accordance with the prophecy of St Nerses, and we hope and expect the salvation of the holy city Jerusalem, as of this whole region. He wisely adds: 'But God will take care of the future.'[15] We shall return later to Nerses and Armenian apocalyptic notions of the thirteenth century.

To my knowledge, this lengthy colophon is the only contemporary Armenian source for information about the capture of Constantinople. More significantly it indicates that the histories and chronicles of the period are not the most rewarding sources for details of Armenian–Greek contacts at the time. Writers in Cilicia were more concerned with the Seljuk sultans and the western crusader states; those in Greater Armenia devoted attention to the Georgians, Turks and Mongols, with interest in the expanding influence of the Roman Church. None of the historians mentioned above refers to the return of the Greeks to Constantinople in 1261.

Nonetheless, Armenians and Greeks did not remain in splendid isolation from each other. Not only were there numerous Greeks in Cilicia itself, there were deliberate efforts at intercommunication on various levels, from the arranging of marriages and religious discussions at the royal level, to the translation and copying of Greek texts more locally.

In 1214 Theodore I Laskaris married Philippa, the niece of King Levon. Born in 1183, Philippa was the daughter of Levon's deceased elder brother Ruben.[16] But her marriage to Theodore did not last; he divorced her one year later. The only child of the brief alliance was Constantine, of whom nothing more is mentioned by Armenian sources. The marriage is known to Smbat, though he gives no precise date; otherwise, it passed by without comment.[17] How contact was made between Theodore and Levon is not stated.

Even religious contacts between Greeks and Armenians, so eagerly pursued in the preceding century especially under the auspices of the katholikos Nerses Shnorhali,[18] attracted relatively little attention among Armenian historians of the

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15 Text in *Hayeren Dzeragreri Hishatakaranner 13 dar*, ed. A.S. Mat'evosyan (Erevan, 1984), no. 17, pp. 39–41; Garegin Yovsep'ean, *Yishatakarank' Dzeragrac'*, vol. 1 (Antelias, Beirut, 1951), no. 318, cols. 695–700.

16 She had previously been affianced to the prince of Seleucia, Sargis, who died in 1193, and then in 1200 to Awshin, prince of Lambron.

17 *Smbatay Sparapeti. Taregirk'*, ed. Agelean, p. 221; nor is it mentioned by Donald M. Nicol, 'Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century', *Studies in Church History*, 1 (1964): pp. 160–72; reprinted in Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 12 (London, 1972), Article IV.

18 For the Byzantine–Armenian discussions of the twelfth century see a summary in Pascal Tekeyan, *Controverses christologiques en Arméno-Cilicie dans la second moitié du XII^e siècle (1165–1198)*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 124 (Rome, 1939), and for the documents Azat A. Bozoyan, *Hay byuzandakan ekełets'akan banakts'ut'yunneri vaveragrere*

thirteenth century. Of the major writers Kirakos has the most to say. He devotes much attention to the debate with the Latins on the question of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. To formulate a response to the Letters of Pope Innocent IV to King Het'um and the Armenian katholikos Constantine in 1251, a council was convened at the capital Sis. Kirakos says that the wise men of the Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, and other Christian nations who were in Cilicia, attended and that a request was sent to learned Armenian clerics in Greater Armenia for their opinions. Kirakos rehearses the biblical and patristic arguments (which included much emphasis on the Greek Fathers as well as Armenian tradition), and then gives the text of the creed sent to Rome in response, as well as a lengthy supporting document penned by Vanakan Vardapet from Greater Armenia. The Armenians agreed with the Romans that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, against the Greek position that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. But aside from the reference to Greeks, Syrians, and other Christians living in Cilicia in connection with this debate, Kirakos has nothing further to say here about Armenian–Greek contacts.[19] In his much briefer account of this episode, Vardan adds that the Georgians also took the side of the Greeks.[20] But neither historian mentions the earlier contacts between Innocent IV and the Armenians in 1245–46.[21]

On the other hand, when describing King Het'um's journey to visit the Mongol Khan, which he dates to 1255, Kirakos states that Het'um sent ahead a number of clerics, including the learned Yakob. Here he makes a lengthy aside, referring to

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(1165–1178 t't') (Erevan, 1995); Azat A. Bozoyan, 'Les documents ecclésiastiques arméno-byzantins après la quatrième croisade', in Barlow Der Mugrdechian (ed.), *Between Paris and Fresno: Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouymjian* (Costa Mesa, CA, 2008), pp. 351–9; and Nerses Shnorhali, *Letters: Endhanrakan t'ułt'k' srboyn Nersisi Shnorhalwoy*, 3 vols (Jerusalem, 1871).

19 *Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Patmut'iwn Hayots'*, ed. K. Melik'-Ohanjanyan (Erevan, 1961), pp. 329–44.

20 Vardan Arewelts'i, *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Hayots'*, ed. Alishan, p. 148.

21 For which see Peter Halfter and Andrea Schmidt, 'Der Römische Stuhl und die armenische Christenheit zur Zeit Papst Innozenz IV. Die Mission des Franziskaners Dominikus von Aragon nach Sis und Hromkla und das Lehrbekenntnis der Konstantin I Bardzrbertsi', *Le Muséon*, 116 (2003): pp. 91–135. For a letter written by Vardan for the katholikos to King Het'um in 1246 on the papal position see *Girk' T'łt'ots'*, ed. Y. Izmireants' (Tiflis, 1901), pp. 503–9; new ed. N. Połarean (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 657–65. For a general review of the period see S. Peter Cowe, 'The Armenians in the Era of the Crusades', in Michael Angold (ed.), *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 5, *Eastern Christianity* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 404–29, but Cowe does not discuss the exchanges with Nicaea. Earlier Armenian relations with the Papacy are studied in Peter Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, Beihefte zu J.F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, 15 (Cologne, 1996); see also Bernard F. Hamilton, 'The Armenian Church and the Papacy in the Time of the Crusades', *Eastern Churches Review*, 10 (1978): pp. 61–87; reprinted in Bernard F. Hamilton, *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusadares (900–1300)*, Variorum Collected Studies, 97 (London, 1979), Article XII.

an earlier visit by Yakob to John, king of the Greeks, who held the regions of Asia and had become powerful in those days, and to their patriarch (not named). This is his only reference to discussions between the Greeks of Nicaea and the Armenians on church matters.[22] Vardan makes no reference to it, and Smbat's *Chronicle* has a lengthy lacuna for that period. Nonetheless, other documents in Armenian and Greek do survive, enabling us to reconstruct the outline of that exchange. Robert Devreesse published a short but informative article on the subject in 1939, so here a summary of the main points will suffice.[23] The first religious discussions did not take place until 1239, during the long, almost parallel reigns of King Het'um I (1226–70) and Katholikos Constantine I (Bardzrberdts'i, 1220–67). The first step was taken by the Armenians, for reasons which are unexplained. The Greek patriarch of Antioch, David (dates unclear, after 1235 to before 1258), wrote to Nicaea to inform John Doukas Batatzes (1222–54) and the patriarch Germanos II (1222–40) that two Armenian monks, Theodore and Basil, were on their way with letters of greeting from the Armenian king and katholikos. In response Germanos sent John, the metropolitan of Melitene, to Cilicia, but before he reached Cilicia a lengthy missive from Katholikos Constantine arrived for Germanos. The latter's response to Constantine is the first document to survive and has been published in full;[24] the Armenian letter prompting this reply alas is not extant. In Cilicia Metropolitan John was given letters and a creed to take back,[25] and was told that an Armenian delegation would go to Nicaea. But by the time the Armenians arrived, Germanos had died (1240). His successor Manuel II summoned a council, and the letter agreed at the council was taken back to Cilicia by the same John. Only parts of this document have been printed.[26] But John's return visit to Sis was disappointing. It bore no fruit since the katholikos Constantine had gone to his see at Hromkla much further east, and refused to see the Greek messengers.

From what survives of the correspondence one sees a remarkable similarity with the exchanges in the late twelfth century between the Armenian katholikos Nerses Shnorhali and the emperor Manuel Komnenos.[27] Beneath the veneer of diplomatic politeness, neither side had changed its basic position; a real union of minds on the Christological issues and the differences of ritual was impossible.

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[22] *Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Patmut'iwn Hayots'*, ed. Melik'-Ohanjanyan, pp. 365–6.

[23] Robert Devreesse, 'Négociations ecclésiastiques arméno-byzantines au XIII^e siècle', *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 5 (1939): pp. 146–51. Angelo Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, vol. 10 (Rome, 1844), pp. 440–48, had earlier published some of the texts, but in the form of résumés with only extracts printed *verbatim*.

[24] Spyros Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β΄ πατριάρχης Κωσταντινόλεως-Νικαίας, 1222–1240* (Tripoli, 1913), pp. 350–53.

[25] See Antonio Staerk, 'Die Confessio fidei Armeniorum aus der Dubrowskischen Sammlung der Kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg', *Vizantijski Vremmenik*, 14 (1907, publ. 1909): pp. 192–6.

[26] See Mai, *Spicilegium*, vol. 10, pp. 446–7.

[27] See note 18 above.

From now on the only concessions made by Armenians were in the direction of Rome, a likely source of support from Muslim enemies.

The exchanges of 1240–41 have not left any echo in the Armenian historians. It is probably to events some seven or eight years later that Kirakos referred in his description of the learned Yakob. A second mission from King Het'um and Katholikos Constantine to Nicaea had taken place in 1248. The Greek response survives, a more accommodating epistle than the first letter of Germanos or the letter of the synod held in Nicaea in 1241.[28] But nothing is known of any Armenian reaction to this letter. In Kirakos' version of events, when Yakob met King John Batatzes and the Greek patriarch, he countered the questioning of the Greek synod, which had accused the Armenians of being Eutychians because of saying 'one nature in Christ'. Through his learned arguments from scripture Yakob 'resolved all the stumbling-blocks between the two nations, and had turned the minds of the Greeks to love and unity with our people'. As for Yakob, he later became katholikos (1268–86).

As a curious footnote one might add that the lengthy missive sent by the katholikos Constantine to the patriarch Germanos contained a creed. More than 300 years later a Latin version of this creed was sent by the Armenian clergy of Lvov (Lemberg) to King Henry of Poland, a statement of faith to their monarch from his 'devotissimi subjecti'.[29]

That Greeks living in Cilicia took an active part in Armenian affairs is emphasized by Smbat, whose *Chronicle* describes their participation in a rebellion against the regent Constantine the year after the death of Leo (Levon), first king of Cilicia, i.e. in 1220, when Zabel his daughter was but 8 years old. The rebellion was put down by Constantine, and the goods of the Greeks of Tarsos who had supported the uprising were pillaged.[30] Much later Grigor of Akants', in his *History of the Mongols*, notes that princes of Greek descent participated in another plot against the Armenian king, on this occasion Leo II, in 1271 or soon thereafter.[31] Step'annos Orbelean, metropolitan of Siunik' in Greater Armenia, refers to Cilicia as a 'western country',[32] noting that Greek workers there decorated silks for King Leo III in 1282.[33] But the historians rarely provide concrete evidence for Greeks in Cilicia, and certainly no names for Greek residents there.

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28 See Mai, *Spicilegium*, vol. 10, pp. 447–8, for the letter to Het'um from the Patriarch Manuel II, dated 1248.

29 Text in Staerk, 'Die Confessio fidei Armeniorum'.

30 *Smbatay Sparapeti. Taregirk'*, ed. Agelean, pp. 223–4.

31 Grigor of Akants', 'History of the Nations of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'', ed. R.P. Blake and R. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 12 (1949): pp. 269–399, here pp. 378–80.

32 Step'annos Orbelean: *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan*, ed. K. Shahnazareants' (Paris, 1859; reprinted Tiflis, 1910), p. 436.

33 Ibid., p. 434.

Armenians were not unaware of the Laskarids of Nicaea, but normally the latter attracted Armenian attention only indirectly. Thus Kirakos notes that the two sons of Ghiat'adin were disputing the succession in Konya. One of them, unnamed by Kirakos, had gone to seek Mongol support and was returning with Smbat, Het'um's brother, who had been sent on a mission to the Great Khan.[34] When they reached Erznka (Erzinjan) – this was in 1250 – they learned that Ghiat'adin's brother had made a matrimonial alliance with 'Leshk'aris', king of the Romans, *Horomk'*, who was in Ephesos. This enabled him to seize power in Konya. The term used by Kirakos is *p'esayats'eal*, which means to make someone a *p'esay*, son-in-law, i.e. to give someone one's own daughter.[35] But there seems to be no record anywhere else of a marriage between Ghiat'adin's brother and the daughter of Theodore Laskaris or John Batatzes. Vardan and Step'annos Orbelean do refer to the later marriage between the daughter of Batatzes, whom they call 'Despina', to the il-khan Apaghay, though in fact she was a daughter of Michael VIII Palaiologos.[36] In addition to these historians and several minor chronicles, there are various Lives of prominent clerics of a greater or lesser hagiographical bent. These have nothing to offer so far as relationships with the Greeks of Nicaea are concerned, though some do provide information about opposition to Roman influence and the activity of the 'Unitors', i.e. the Catholic missionaries whose activities in Greater Armenia peaked in the next century.[37]

Another source for Armenian–Greek contacts during this period is the information derived from manuscripts and their colophons. The thirteenth century is generally considered to be the high point of Armenian miniature painting, and much has been written about Byzantine influence on Armenian art then and earlier. Armenian manuscripts were written and illustrated in many towns of central Asia Minor, and it is not uncommon to find Greek captions on the miniatures. One

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[34] After the death of Kaykhusraw, his *three* sons were all minors. Rukn al-Dīn, the middle one, received a *yarligh* from Batu and returned through the eastern half of the Seljuk domain with a Mongol escort, gaining supremacy over his brothers.

[35] *Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Patmut'iwn Hayots'*, ed. Melik'-Ohanjanyan, pp. 317–18.

[36] Vardan Arewelts'i, *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Hayots'*, ed. Alishan, p. 161; Orbelean, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan*, ed. Shahnazareants', p. 470.

[37] The classic work on the Unitors is Marcus Antonius van den Oudenrijn, *Linguae Haicanae scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* (Bern, 1960). For the hagiography of the period see the survey in K'narik S. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI–XV dd. Hay Vark'agrut'yune* (Erevan, 1980); Russian version: K'narik S. Ter-Davt'yan, *Pamjatniki armjanskoi Agiografii*, vol. 1 (Erevan, 1973).

Gospel even has colophons in both Armenian and Greek.[38] But specific ties to Nicaea have not been identified.[39]

As for the colophons, some I have already quoted. Of course, it is impossible to gauge how many manuscripts have not survived, and therefore to judge how representative extant colophons may be. Nonetheless, they often refer to events, persons and topics not mentioned in Histories or Chronicles.

For the period 1204–61 there is little that adds directly to knowledge of Armenian relations with Nicaea, but a fair amount that ekes out the picture of Armenian–Greek contacts in general, more especially in the area of the copying and translation of Greek texts. Translation had always played a major role in the development of Armenian literature, from the very earliest texts written in the newly formed script at the beginning of the fifth century and continuing well beyond the period that interests us. Armenians, at least the majority who were not Chalcedonians, did not have such a close rapport with centres of Greek learning as did the Georgians, who rubbed shoulders with Greeks in such places as Mount Athos, Palestine and Mount Sinai. But contacts were close in the area of the Black Mountain, where Nerses of Lambron in the late twelfth century, for example, found many Greek texts not yet translated into Armenian.[40] Earlier, some Greek texts had been rendered into Armenian via Syriac versions; now more Greek texts were made known by translations from Georgian versions. These last cannot be directly linked to Nicaea, but are an interesting example of Armenian Chalcedonian activity.[41] Especially in the north there had always been a number of Chalcedonian Armenians. Around 1200 the Armenian monastery of Płndzahank' (*copper mines*, modern Achtala) had been converted to the Georgian rite by Ivane, brother of Zak'are, the noted generals of Queen Tamar.[42] A famous monk at Płndzahank', Simeon, who was familiar with both Armenian and Georgian, translated among other texts the *Elements of Theology* by Proclus Diadochus, various works of John

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38 Harry Kurdian, 'An Important Armenian MS. With Greek Miniatures', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1942): pp. 156–62. The Greek lines, which request the reader's prayers, follow one of the Armenian colophons naming the scribe Kozma. The possible recipient of the book was 'Baba Simeon of Urha [Edessa]'.

39 See in general Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 31, 2 vols (Washington, DC, 1993).

40 One example is the Greek text of Andreas of Caesarea's *Commentary on Revelation*; see the Introduction in Robert W. Thomson, *Nerses of Lambron: Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John*, Hebrew University Armenian Studies, 9 (Leuven, 2007).

41 For Armenian Chalcedonians see Viada A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, 'The Ethno-confessional Self-awareness of Armenian Chalcedonians', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 21 (1988–89): pp. 345–63, and Viada A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjano-Vizantijskaja Kontaktnaja Zona (X–XI vv.)* (Moscow, 1994).

42 Ivane opted for Georgian orthodoxy, while Zakare remained faithful to the Armenian Church. They had taken Ani for the Georgian sovereign in 1199.

of Damascus, and the *Ladder* by John Climachus. The Armenian adaptation of the *Georgian Chronicles*, made in the thirteenth century, has also been attributed to him, though there is no reliable evidence.[43] Despite the value of colophons, their information is often given without historical context. For example, in 1203 a translation was made in Sis of a letter by John, archbishop of Nicaea, sent to the katholikos Zak'aria back in the 860s at the time of exchanges between Photios and the Armenian katholikos.[44] Why this Chalcedonian document should have been of special interest in 1203 is unclear. It was translated by two clerics, Gregory and Basil, 'with the help of the priests Nikiphor and Michael'. Nikiphor is a very unusual name for an Armenian, though not unattested. But if the latter two were Greeks, the immediate purpose of the combined effort is unknown.[45]

To my surprise this is the only reference in colophons to a translation from Greek during the period that interests us, with the sole exception of Simeon's rendering of Proclus from the Georgian version made in 1248 that has been already mentioned. Syriac is represented by translations of works by Jacob of Sarug.[46] Arabic is represented by various texts brought from Baghdad on King Het'um's return from visiting the Great Khan in 1259, notably works on hippiatry and astronomy;[47] while in Ani in 1222 an 'Explanation of Dreams, *erazahan*', was translated from *Tachik Arab*.[48] But references to Rome and the West outnumber these other tongues. A certain Heli had been sent on a mission to Pope Innocent III by King Leo; and while still at sea, approaching 'Longobardia' on 5 June in 1210, he translated a 'List of Roman Emperors and Patriarchs of Rome'.[49] There are several references to the writing of Armenian texts in Rome itself. These are mostly linked to the Armenian 'Ospetal' or hostel. In 1228 Gregory of Narek's

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43 For Simeon's activity see Nerses Akinean, *Simeon Płndzahanets'i ew iwr t'argmanut'iwnnere vrats'erene* (Vienna 1951). For the Armenian version of the *Georgian Chronicles* see the Introduction to Robert W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles*, Oxford Oriental Monographs (Oxford, 1996).

44 On this episode see Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens et Byzantins à l'époque de Photius: deux débats théologiques après le Triomphe de l'Orthodoxie*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 609, Subsidia, 117 (Leuven, 2004), and Timothy W. Greenwood, 'Failure of a Mission? Photius and the Armenian Church', *Le Muséon*, 119 (2006): pp. 123–67.

45 *Hayeren Dzeragreri Hishatakaranner 13 dar*, ed. Mat'evosyan, no. 16, p. 38; Yovsep'ean, *Yishatakarank' Dzeragrac'*, vol. 1, no. 317, cols. 695–6.

46 *Hayeren Dzeragreri Hishatakaranner 13 dar*, ed. Mat'evosyan, nos. 189, 190, pp. 236–7; the translations are dated to 1246. The name of Ephrem appears frequently, but the references are to previously translated texts.

47 Ibid., no. 249, p. 299.

48 Ibid., no. 91, p. 131; Yovsep'ean, *Yishatakarank' Dzeragrac'*, vol. 1, no. 374, cols. 821–2.

49 *Hayeren Dzeragreri Hishatakaranner 13 dar*, ed. Mat'evosyan, no. 38, pp. 76–7; Yovsep'ean, *Yishatakarank' Dzeragrac'*, vol. 1, no. 331, cols. 741–4.

'Lamentations', the most famous poem in Armenian literature, was copied by a certain T'adeos; he then presented it to the 'Ospetal'.[50] A certain Vardan presented a copy of the 'Homilies' attributed to Gregory the Illuminator that he had copied in 1254 to the same institution.[51] It may be the same Vardan who copied a Gospel in Rome in 1239 in a community at a church called 'Santa Maria'.[52] In 1240 a certain Vanakan copied another Gospel at the same place, which he specifically calls the 'house of the *hangstaran* of the Armenians', which implies some sort of hostel.[53] By the thirteenth century there were numerous Armenian monastic establishments not only in Rome but also in many other Italian cities; but they are not directly relevant to the Greek connection.[54]

Armenian relationships with the Greeks had changed during the 60 years of Byzantine exile. In 1204 the scribe Grigor at Hromkla had viewed the capture of Constantinople as being in accordance with the prophecy of St Nerses. This Nerses was the Armenian patriarch in the mid-fourth century who, according to the History known as the *Buzandaran*, had foreseen the division of his country between Roman and Iranian sectors circa 387.[55] By the tenth century elaborate 'Lives of Nerses' were in circulation, bringing his prognostic powers up to date. Later versions point in turn to the capture of the True Cross by the Persians, Muslim rule over Jerusalem, the arrival of the Turks, the coming of the crusaders, the recapture of Jerusalem in 1187, and the arrival of the 'Archers'.[56] In Cilicia

50 *Hayeren Dzeragreri Hishatakaranner 13 dar*, ed. Mat'evosyan, no. 112, p. 155; Yovsep'ean, *Yishatakarank' Dzeragrac'*, vol. 1, no. 388, cols. 845–6. Yovsep'ean suggests that the date should be 1226/27, Armenian era 675, on the basis of the description of this manuscript [now Vatican Armenian no. 4] in Eugène Tisserant, *Codices Armeni Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1927), p. 223. But Tisserant, although giving the date 675 in his Latin translation, does print 677 (written in Armenian letters) in the Armenian text of the colophon. The year 675 of the Armenian era began on 24 January 1226.

51 *Hayeren Dzeragreri Hishatakaranner 13 dar*, ed. Mat'evosyan, no. 224, pp. 275–6.

52 Ibid., no. 172, p. 216; Yovsep'ean, *Yishatakarank' Dzeragrac'*, vol. 1, no. 423, cols. 935–8.

53 *Hayeren Dzeragreri Hishatakaranner 13 dar*, ed. Mat'evosyan, no. 174, p. 218; Yovsep'ean, *Yishatakarank' Dzeragrac'*, vol. 1, no. 427, cols. 939–42; the latter wonders whether Vardan and Vanakan [which means 'monk', RWT] might be the same person.

54 See Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Âge (XIII^e^–XV^e^ siècles)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 33, (Rome, 1977), esp. pp. 197–9; and for details of Armenian communities in Italy, Van den Oudenrijn, *Linguae Haicanae*, pp. 245–95. More information concerning Armenians in Italy (especially about books) may be found in Claude Mutafian (ed.), *Roma–Armenia* (Rome, 1999).

55 *Buzandaran*, IV,13 for the prophecy, VI,1 for the division. See the commentary *ad loc.* in *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk') Attributed to P'awstos Buzand*, transl. N.G. Garsoïan, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 8 (Cambridge, MA, 1989).

56 For the text see the bibliography, s.v. St Nerses Part'ew. The term 'Archers' normally refers to the Mongols, but the Armenian word (*Netołk'*) can also be used of the

the author of an Armenian tract on Antichrist, attributed to Epiphanios but much influenced by the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios, integrates some of these ideas into the old Armenian theme of an alliance between Constantine and King Trdat. He also brings in the prophecy attributed to the katholikos Sahak, grandson of Nerses and the last patriarch from the line of St Gregory, who in the fifth century had foreseen the restoration of the Arsacid monarchy and the line of patriarchs from St Gregory. According to 'Epiphanios', the emperor proclaims that salvation for Armenia will come from the West, led by Constantine's progeny.[57] The culmination of these ideas is the so-called *Letter of Concord*, purporting to be the actual text of the agreement made between Constantine and Pope Silvester with King Trdat and St Gregory, when they had all met in Old Rome. They divided among themselves authority over Christendom and the oversight of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, and again salvation from the West in future times of trouble is foretold.[58]

Such ideas were echoed by many historians.[59] The Greeks have now more or less disappeared from the picture. Constantinople has no leading role to play in the final dénouement and the coming of Antichrist before the Last Things. Two hundred years later, when Constantinople finally fell to the Turks, Armenian poets would look forward to its liberation by Franks, who would then go on to Jerusalem and drive out the infidels. In this deliverance Armenians too would play their role, for the descendants of those Armenians who had gone to Rome in King Trdat's escort so long ago, would come east with these victorious Franks and guide them to the liberation of Armenia.[60]

Seljuks.

[57] Pseudo-Epiphanius: *Sermo de Antichristo*, ed. G. Frasson, Bibliotheca Armeniaca, 2 (Venice, 1976), esp. ch. VIII; see Robert W. Thomson, 'The Crusaders through Armenian Eyes', in Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (eds), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 71–82.

[58] For the latest study of this document see Peter Halfter, 'Constantinus Novus. Zum geschichtlichen Hintergrund des apokryphen Freundschaftspaktes zwischen Konstantin und Trdat, Grigor dem Erleuchter und Papst Silvester', *Le Muséon*, 119 (2006): pp. 399–428; he dates the fabrication of the *Letter* to the time of Leo's coronation in 1199. For Greek ideas of salvation from the West see Paul Magdalino, 'Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople', in Angeliki Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, Réalités byzantines, 10 (Paris, 2005), pp. 41–53.

[59] The apocalyptic trend in Armenian historiography is discussed in Nina G. Garsoïan, 'Reality and Myth in Armenian History', in *The East and the Meaning of History*, Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', Studi Orientali, 13 (Rome, 1994), pp. 117–45.

[60] Sanjian, 'Two Contemporary Armenian Elegies'.

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61 For a detailed discussion of Armenian sources for the preceding period, 1025–1204, see Timothy G. Greenwood, 'Armenian Sources', in Mary Whitby (ed.), *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 132 (Oxford, 2007), pp. 221–52.

62 For more detailed information on Armenian texts, translations and secondary literature see Robert W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD* (Turnhout, 1995); and Robert W. Thomson, 'A Supplement to the Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature (1993–2005)', *Le Muséon*, 120 (2007): pp. 161–221.

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Chapter 11
The Crusader States and Cyprus in a Thirteenth-century Byzantine Prosopography

Tassos Papacostas

My brief for this chapter was to discuss the nature of thirteenth-century prosopographical evidence from Cyprus and the Crusader states of the Syro-Palestinian mainland (Kingdom of Jerusalem, County of Tripoli, Principality of Antioch) and its relevance to Byzantine prosopography. I shall attempt this by dividing the short survey that follows into two distinct parts: first the issues raised by the suggested chronological limits (1204–1261) and the nature of prosopographies will be considered, with particular reference of course to PBW (the Prosopography of the Byzantine World). In the second part the focus will shift onto the source material, the type of evidence it provides, and its inherent strengths and limitations.

Looking at the period and area in question from a Byzantine perspective, one should perhaps bear in mind certain facts before examining its prosopography: few of the coastal areas of Syria–Palestine that led a precarious existence under Crusader control in the thirteenth century had been under Byzantine rule in the preceding centuries. The last time the cities of Palestine, including Jerusalem, had witnessed the presence of a Byzantine official was more than half a millennium earlier, during the reign of Herakleios (610–41). Only the region of Antioch, still an important metropolis with a significant Greek-speaking population, maintained strong links with the empire in Middle Byzantine times, being geographically closer than the areas further to the south. It had experienced direct Byzantine rule for about a century (969–1084) until its fall to the Turks shortly before the First Crusade.[1] The experience of Cyprus was comparable to that of northern Syria, with even more durable Byzantine links. Unlike the mainland regions, the island never witnessed extensive Muslim settlement in the early medieval or at any later (pre-modern) period, and it was ruled from Constantinople until the late twelfth century. As a result its population remained predominantly Greek-speaking and Christian. It is worth remembering these differences because, as will be shown later on, they will impact on any judgement and selection of areas and sources to be included in PBW.

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1 Klaus-Peter Todt, *Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969–1204)*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1998).

As in the case of other areas investigated in the course of the colloquium whose proceedings are published in this volume, the chronological limits of 1204 and 1261 mean very little for either Cyprus or the mainland.[2] These were of course imposed upon the colloquium organizers and upon the next phase of PBW by the state of prosopographical research, namely by current and earlier projects: for the preceding period, by the first phase of PBW (1025–1204),[3] and for the later centuries by the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (*PLP*), the Austrian prosopography of the Palaiologan period.[4] No thirteenth-century prosopography will operate in a prosopographical vacuum. It is therefore obvious, for example, that since the *PLP* includes most published Greek sources produced on Cyprus in the Lusignan period (1192–1489), *PBW* 1204–1261 should follow the same policy. This is especially pertinent if we take into account the longer-term perspective, in the context of a future all-encompassing prosopography of the long Byzantine millennium, incorporating *PLRE*, *PBE* I, *PmbZ*, PBW and *PLP*.[5] There has to be consistency. Interrupted coverage of any area will be difficult to justify. This, however, does not clarify the position to be taken regarding Cypriot sources written in Latin or in various western vernaculars, an issue I shall return to in the second part of this discussion.

Another even more important factor related to the chronological framework is the state of research concerning these areas. In fact both Cyprus and even more so the mainland states have grown into discrete fields of study with their own historiographical tradition and nucleus of specialists working on their cultural, economic, social and political history.[6] As a result of this historiographical reality, the time frame 1204–1261 becomes questionable and even controversial. The relatively short period makes a certain sense of uneasiness about these dates even more acute; earlier projects (*PLRE*, *PBE I*, *PmbZ*, PBW) covered on average two centuries each, long enough to accommodate regional disparities in the source

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2 'Mainland' will be used henceforth to refer to the three Crusader states in Syria–Palestine that survived into the thirteenth century (Jerusalem, Antioch and Tripoli).

3 Electronic database available at http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk, accessed 8 September 2010.

4 Erich Trapp *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (1261–1453)*, 12 vols (Vienna, 1979–96); CD-ROM (Vienna, 2001).

5 Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, John Robert Martindale and John Morris (eds), *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1971–92); John Robert Martindale and Dion Smythe (eds), *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641–867*, CD-ROM (Ashgate, 2001); Friedhelm Winkelmann, Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Claudia Ludwig *et alii* (eds), *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Abteilung I: 641–867*, 7 vols (Berlin–New York, 1998–2002).

6 Peter W. Edbury, 'The State of Research: Cyprus under the Lusignans and Venetians, 1991–1998', *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999): pp. 57–65; Giles Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (eds), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 1–22.

material, whereas now we are dealing with a much shorter period, barely exceeding half a century.

To put it bluntly, whereas 1204 and 1261 are immediately recognizable by Byzantinists as key dates in the evolution of the civilization they are studying, this is of course not the case for a historian of the Crusader states. The same applies to many an area of interest to PBW. But does this affect the approach to be adopted, and if so, how? It is my contention that it certainly does, for the prosopographical study of the areas in question is bound to reflect the perspective of those who are going to provide assistance and expertise, namely the contemporary historians of medieval Cyprus and the Crusader states. For the latter a prosopography should ideally cover the entire period from the arrival of the first armies and settlers in the late eleventh century to the demise of the Crusader states in the late thirteenth. This would of course not be a *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, but a *Prosopography of the Crusader World*, an altogether different project as well as a long-standing desideratum. Even if we assume that the material up to the middle of the thirteenth century is adequately dealt with by PBW, this still leaves out the second half of the century, which witnessed the gradual extinction of the Crusader presence on the mainland and the transplantation of numerous individuals, families and institutions to Cyprus. Indeed, this is very much a process that in itself cries out for urgent prosopographical treatment.

Similarly, in the case of Cyprus the most sensible way of tackling the prosopographical material would be following the island's political history, starting with the conquest of Richard the Lionheart during the Third Crusade (1191), through the establishment of the Lusignan kingdom before the close of the twelfth century, and up to its absorption into the Venetian *stato da mar* in the later fifteenth century. There would be strong arguments and indeed perhaps an imperative to extend coverage through the period of Venetian rule, up to the Ottoman conquest of 1570/71, since there is no easily identifiable break in the transition from Lusignan kingdom to Venetian province other than the official transfer of power in 1489. Such an undertaking, however, would again fall well outside the remit of a Byzantine prosopography.

The inclusion of Lusignan Cyprus and the scattered Crusader outposts of the mainland in a thirteenth-century Byzantine prosopography cannot be taken for granted. In view of the considerations just outlined, it has to be further justified. After 1191 Cyprus was never reintegrated within the Byzantine Empire. Its political ties with the latter were irrevocably severed in that year, if not earlier, during the period of usurpation of Isaac Komnenos (1184–91) who proclaimed himself *basileus* on the island.[7] Antioch was lost to the empire even earlier, in 1084.

[7] For an exemplary prosopographical study of Isaac and his family, see Weyprecht-Hugo Rüdt de Collenberg, 'L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)', *Byzantion*, 38 (1968): pp. 123–77, reprinted in Weyprecht-Hugo Rüdt de Collenberg, *Familles de l'Orient latin, XII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 176 (London, 1983), article I.

Why then should either of them, or Crusader Palestine for that matter, qualify for inclusion in a Byzantine prosopography? If that pattern is followed then there is no reason why coverage should not be extended to 1522 for Hospitaller Rhodes, 1566 for Genoese Chios, or even 1669 for Venetian Crete; surely Crete in the seventeenth century was in many respects as 'Byzantine' as Cyprus was in the thirteenth! These are obviously extreme cases; they nevertheless help to highlight the often arbitrary character of some of the decisions that have to be taken, and of the purely practical parameters that affect our choices.

To return to my question: why include Cyprus in a thirteenth-century Byzantine prosopography? The main justification and the answer lies in the professed goals and general outlook of PBW, which has always been one of inclusion rather than exclusion, based on a very wide definition of who may be called a Byzantine.[8] This approach partly relies on an unspoken assumption that all areas that had belonged to Byzantium at some point in medieval times either preserved at least some trace of their Byzantine heritage (best detected in their material and literary culture) or remained of interest to the empire in some way or another. And this is where the characteristics outlined at the beginning of this chapter come to play: the continuity of several aspects of Byzantine civilization on Cyprus presumably earns the island a ticket into PBW without much difficulty, although the details of what is relevant remain to be negotiated.[9] But what about the Crusader states of the mainland? They would certainly qualify for the first century of their existence by virtue of their links with the empire and the central role played by the early crusades in Byzantine history and culture.[10] For the thirteenth century, however, one must surely express serious doubts. It is difficult to see how the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), focused on Palestine and Egypt, and the people involved with it, have anything to do with Byzantine prosopography. Similarly, St Louis' first crusade (1248–54), although involving Cyprus where his armies wintered in 1248–49,[11] is again something that may be considered in the context of a Mamluk rather than a Byzantine prosopography. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that these late crusades have attracted little prosopographical interest, in sharp contrast with the earlier

8 See the 'Project definition' under 'About project' on the PBW website: http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/content/aboutpbw/projectdef.html, accessed 8 September 2010.

9 On the issue of the continuity of Byzantine culture on Cyprus in the later medieval period see Speros Vryonis, *Byzantine Cyprus*, Fifth Annual Lecture on Cypriot History and Archaeology, The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (Nicosia, 1990).

10 For a recent treatment of a wide range of relevant issues see Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (eds), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, DC, 2001), and Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2002).

11 Georges Duby, *Saint Louis à Chypre*, Third Annual Lecture, The Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia (Nicosia, 1991).

period for which several studies on the origin of the first crusaders and settlers, of their leaders, and the composition of their armies have been carried out.[12]

The second part of this survey will therefore focus primarily on Cyprus and the relevant source material. In view of the peculiarities of the island's history, the Third Crusade provides the most sensible starting point. Before looking at the type of information supplied by the surviving texts, it is worth pointing out what is not there, what we are missing, and what has not survived. One of the most rewarding yet under-exploited sources for late medieval Cyprus is the large number of colophons and marginal notes from manuscripts (see Bibliography). The corpus of eleventh- to sixteenth-century dated Greek manuscripts from the island published by Constantinides and Browning contains more than 100 entries. Only eight, however, belong to our period, and five of those contain a colophon furnishing some prosopographical information.[13] Thus, the Berlin Staatsbibliothek 287, a Gospel lectionary, was copied in 1193 by the deacon Thomas, *prosmonarios* of the church (or monastery?) of St John the Almsgiver in the village of Trachonas (outside Nicosia), for the priests of the village of Sivouri (near Famagusta), two of whom – Leo and Olympites – are named, and for the householders (τῶν φιλοχρίστων οἰκοδεσποτῶν) – only Theodore Kontarites is named – of the same village, in whose church of the Theotokos the lectionary was deposited. The Parisinus graecus 301, also a Gospel lectionary, was copied in 1204 by the priest George from Rhodes (τοῦ ροδίου) for the monk Euthymios the Recluse and deposited in the church of St Epiphanios (near Kouklia in the region of Paphos). Machairas Monastery 17 contains the *typikon* of the monastery, and was copied in 1201–10 by its hegoumenos Neilos (later bishop of Tamasos).[14] Edinburgh, University Library 224, contains another monastic rule, the well-known *Typike Diatheke* of the Enkleistra of Neophytos the Recluse; it was copied in 1214 by the priest and *taboullarios* (notary) of the episcopal see of Paphos, Basil, who was diligent enough to mention that he was the son of a catechist while at the same time omitting his father's name. Finally Athens, National Library 842, a *menaion* for November, was copied in 1251/52 by Xenos Romanites Makrozonares from Boleron (in Thrace) for the monastery of Stylos (in the Akrotiri peninsula near Limassol). One cannot fail to notice that two out of the five scribes listed above moved to Cyprus from elsewhere (Rhodes, Thrace), while for a third, Neilos of Machairas, there are indications that he also hailed from beyond the shores of the

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12 Alan V. Murray, 'Prosopography', in Helen Nicholson (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades* (Basingstoke–New York, 2005), pp. 109–29.

13 Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1571*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 30 / Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, 18 (Washington, DC–Nicosia, 1993), pp. 95, 103, 112, 116, 121.

14 See, however, the doubts expressed in Paraskeuas Agathonos, *Ἁγίου Νείλου Τυπικὴ διάταξις* (Monastery of Machairas, 2001), pp. 22–4, about the authorship and date.

island, which he had reached from Palestine.[15] Although the sample is of course too small to be considered representative, it nevertheless does suggest certain trends that further prosopographical work may elucidate.

Marginal notes constitute another major mine of prosopographical information for late medieval Cyprus, and have been used as such by the *PLP*: around 1,000 individuals in that prosopography are attested in sources from the island, most of them in such manuscript notes. It is therefore with some disappointment that one discovers the dearth of evidence for our period. To illustrate the point, one admittedly exceptional but still telling example: the Parisinus graecus 1588 is a *synaxarion* that was copied at the monastery of Hiereon in the western Troodos range in the early twelfth century, and remained in use there until the sixteenth.[16] Its margins contain almost 300 notes, the vast majority bearing a date and recording donations to the community as well as the deaths of monks and villagers from the surrounding area, all conveniently registered next to the relevant day of the month of the ecclesiastical year. Yet if we look at the chronological distribution of these notes, it is immediately obvious that very few pertain to the thirteenth century and provide only basic information (the deaths of the monk Eutychios Kainas, the *ekklesiarches* Eutychios and the hegoumenos Theoktistos Milias are registered on 28 June 1203, 13 December 1214 and 18 February 1227 respectively, without any further details on the origin or families of these individuals).[17] This is a pattern that prevails in other manuscripts too and deprives us of a much-needed window into the world of rural monasteries and village communities where many of the notes were written.[18]

The archives of the Lusignan kingdom have not survived; there were plenty of opportunities for them to perish in times of conflict, such as the Mamluk sack of Nicosia in 1426 or the Ottoman conquest of 1570.[19] The acts pertaining to the administration of the estates of the crown domain were registered in the so-called *Livre des Remembrances* of the *secrète* (the Byzantine *sekreton*). It is recorded that in the early sixteenth century 80 volumes of these registers were still preserved.[20] Yet only one has survived, covering the financial year 1468/69 and containing 234 acts, written mostly in French but also in Greek and Italian and

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15 Ibid., p. 18, where a possible Constantinopolitan origin is postulated.

16 Jean Darrouzès, 'Un obituaire chypriote: le Parisinus graecus 1588', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 15 (1951): pp. 23–62; reprinted in Jean Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des textes byzantins*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 10 (London, 1972), article XIII.

17 Darrouzès, 'Un obituaire', pp. 33, 37, 52.

18 See for example the death of the presbyter Leon on 22 November 1238, recorded in a liturgical manuscript probably belonging to a parish church (no location given), in Jean Darrouzès, 'Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Chypre 2', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 20 (1956): 31–63; reprinted in Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des textes*, article XV, p. 55.

19 Gilles Grivaud, *Villages désertés à Chypre (fin XIIe–fin XIXe siècle)*, Μελέται & Ὑπομνήματα, 3 (Nicosia, 1998), p. 67.

20 Ibid., p. 68.

mentioning hundreds of names of individuals belonging to all social strata, from the royal family down to fief holders, officials, members of the clergy and serfs.[21] The scale of the loss is devastating. If the number of acts in the surviving volume can be considered as representative of the average, the lost volumes would have contained some 18,000 documents.

The first half of the thirteenth century is also deprived of testaments, an obvious prosopographical source later on, and Italian notaries' books, a source particularly informative on western merchants on the island and their commercial activities in later periods.[22] Indeed, those kept by Genoese and Venetian notaries in Famagusta have been used to reconstruct the ethnic composition, economic activity and social outlook of the city in the fourteenth century.[23] It is also noticeable that very few pilgrims' accounts survive from this period, and in any case this is not a genre of literature that lends itself to much prosopographical analysis. The most prominent visitor of the time, Wilbrand, son of the count of Oldenburg and later bishop of Paderborn and Utrecht, who travelled to the eastern Mediterranean in 1211/12, does not provide a single name in the description of his brief Cypriot sojourn.[24] Similarly, the abundant juridical literature of the thirteenth century is of little use for our purposes, as it consists of collections of laws and treatises by jurists that contain very little prosopographical information.[25] The rare exceptions, such as the mention of a certain sire Menacier/Menassier who had been granted (in the early thirteenth century?) the fief of Limniate/Lumna (probably Limnati near Limassol) but then returned it to the king, serve only to confirm the aforementioned view.[26]

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21 Jean Richard, *Le livre des remembrances de la secrète du royaume de Chypre (1468–1469)*, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, 10 (Nicosia, 1983).

22 Grivaud, *Villages désertés*, p. 83.

23 Bibliography in Peter W. Edbury, 'Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto', in Hans Eberhard Mayer (ed.), *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Die Rolle der Einwanderer in Kirche, Staat, Verwaltung, Wirtschaft und Kultur* (Munich, 1997), p. 88, n. 3, reprinted in Peter W. Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, Variorum Collected Studies, 653 (Aldershot, 1999), article XVII.

24 Claude D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria. Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1908, reprinted New York, 1969), pp. 13–14.

25 Gilles Grivaud, 'Literature', in Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (eds), *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 219–84, here pp. 249–54, and Gilles Grivaud, *Entrelacs chiprois. Essai sur les lettres et la vie intellectuelle dans le royaume de Chypre 1191–1570* (Nicosia, 2009), pp. 117–36.

26 *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, *Lois*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1841), p. 544, and Peter W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin, Le Livre des Assises* (Leiden–Boston, 2003), p. 621. It is not at all clear whether this individual is related in any way to the twelfth-century constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem Manasses of Hierges ('Menassier') and his descendants listed in the *Lignages d'Outremer*, ed. Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire des Croisades, 18 (Paris, 2003), pp. 122–4 (the latter issued mostly from the constable's daughter Helvis' marriage to Anseau of Brie); Marguerite Menacier, on the other hand,

Turning to an altogether different source of evidence, namely inscriptions, one is disappointed once more by the paucity of relevant material. Those on lead seals, a key source for Byzantine prosopography in the period covered by the earlier phase of PBW (1025–1204), are not important for either Cyprus or the mainland. Both these and the wax seals gathered together by Gustave Schlumberger in the later nineteenth century and belonging to rulers, feudal lords, officers of the Crusader states and ecclesiastics (see Bibliography) record names and titles usually much better known from narrative sources; unlike the earlier Byzantine material, they add little to our understanding of careers or personalities. The recently published corpus of stone and marble inscriptions from Cyprus contains some 700 entries from the Lusignan and Venetian periods, mostly from funerary slabs in Latin churches (see Bibliography). Only three, however, can be dated to the 1204–1261 period, while another fifteen are stylistically ascribed to the thirteenth century; all are fragmentary and provide little more than names at best, in most cases unknown to other sources.[27] It is not particularly encouraging to notice that among the three dated examples, all in French, two were recorded in the mid-nineteenth century by Louis de Mas Latrie and have since disappeared: the first, seen at Nicosia's Latin cathedral of St Sophia, was dated to 1255 and belonged to a couple (no names preserved);[28] the second, from Limassol, belonged to a certain Johan le Diaque and bore a date in the 1260s.[29] The third and only surviving exemplar comes from the Arab Ahmet Cami in Nicosia (presumably built on the site of a medieval church of unknown dedication); it is probably dated to 1226 (1326 has also been suggested) and belonged to a couple whose family name in the very fragmentary inscription is given as Naiglies or Daiglies.[30]

Greek dedicatory painted inscriptions of the late twelfth- and the first half of the thirteenth century are not numerous either (see Bibliography). Only one example is securely dated (1192), namely that accompanying the fresco cycle at the well-known church of the Arakiotissa at Lagoudera high up in the Troodos mountains. The inscriptions here mention the donor Leo τοῦ Αὐθέντου and his family (his wife's name may have been Mary). The inscription on a contemporary icon of

who died in the 1340s and was buried in the Benedictine nunnery of Our Lady of Tortosa at Nicosia (Brunehilde Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae. Les larmes de Chypre ou recueil des inscriptions lapidaires pour la plupart funéraires de la période franque et vénitienne de l'île de Chypre*, 2 vols [Nicosia, 2004] vol. 1, no. 269), is perhaps a later member of the fief-holder's family.

27 Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*, vol. 1, table on p. 665.

28 Ibid., vol. 1, no. 566.

29 Ibid., vol. 1, no. 664, where the year is transcribed as MCCIX while in the text a date in the 1240s is suggested. The confusion is cleared up by consulting the original publication of the inscription by Louis de Mas Latrie, 'Notes d'un voyage archéologique en Orient', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 2nd series, 2 (1845–46): p. 540 (no. 88), where the year is 'MCCLX'.

30 Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*, vol. 1, no. 146.

Christ from the same church mentions the donor monk Gerasimos. Another donor of this period, the monk Mark, was recorded on a slightly later (thirteenth century) panel depicting St Marina with scenes from her life, preserved at the village of Kyperounta, not far from Lagoudera.[31] Undated fresco inscriptions in four other rural monuments provide names of individuals who, as in the case of the funerary material, do not appear to have been recorded in any other surviving source (see Bibliography). In the apse of the dome-hall Archangel at Kato Leukara, in the south-eastern foothills of the Troodos, a late twelfth-century commemorative inscription mentions laconically the 'prayer of the priest Michael τοῦ Πιλέα'. In the same period or slightly later the door in the south apse of the narthex at the well-known monastic church of Asinou, on the other side of the Troodos, was walled up and a large fresco panel depicting an impressive St George on horseback was put up by a lay patron, the horse tamer (ἵππων ἀκεστήρ) Nikephoros τοῦ Καλλήα. In the Mesaoria, the island's central plain, the early thirteenth-century decoration of the small dome-hall church of St Themonianos outside Lysi was executed through the expense of the monk and hegoumenos Laurentios of a monastery of St Andronikos.[32] At the Angeloktiste of Kiti, best known for its pre-Iconoclastic apse mosaic, an inscription accompanying a fresco of John the Baptist (on the north-west pier under the dome) with the standard formula 'prayer of the servant of God' Leo Aniphantari commemorates the panel's donor (the family name, recorded in the 1950s after the fresco was revealed following the removal of later masonry, has since disappeared).[33] Despite these valuable attestations of individuals involved with rural religious foundations in the first decades of Lusignan rule, none of their family names appears to be known from written sources of either this or later periods. Again, future research may of course alter this admittedly unsatisfactory picture.

Having looked at what we do not have, or do not have much of, let us now look at the bright side: what is the nature of the prosopographically relevant material, what sort of events is it concerned with, and how can it be used with profit in a prosopography? It must be obvious by now that the literary production of the Latin East reflects more than one cultural tradition. The linguistic plurality is its most readily identifiable characteristic in that respect. The multiplicity of genres does not leave much room for overlap in coverage: different groups of people

[31] This survey includes only material published so far; there may be other dedicatory inscriptions on unpublished icons.

[32] For the date, earlier thought to fall later in the century, see Annemarie Weyl Carr, 'Perspectives on Visual Culture in Early Lusignan Cyprus: Balancing Art and Archaeology', in Peter Edbury and Sophia Kalopissi-Verti (eds), *Archaeology and the Crusades: Proceedings of the Round Table, Nicosia 1 February 2005* (Athens, 2007), p. 87.

[33] Christina Spanou, 'Η τέχνη στη μητροπολιτική περιφέρεια Κιτίου από τον 6ο έως το 15ο αι. Μνημειακή ζωγραφική και φορητές εικόνες', in Christina Spanou (ed.), *Η κατά Κίτιον αγιογραφική τέχνη* (Larnaca, 2002), p. 36, proposes a thirteenth-century date for this panel.

from different cultural and social milieux are recorded in different sources. The overview presented below will hopefully make this clear.

The first major event that our sources are concerned with is of course the Third Crusade. Richard's campaign of May 1191, his swift capture of Cyprus, the passing on to the Templars of his accidentally acquired prize, their short and unpopular rule, and the subsequent purchase of the island by Guy de Lusignan are covered in some detail by the western accounts of the crusade, written in either Latin or Old French (see Bibliography). There are considerable differences among these texts in the detail of Richard's campaign, mostly to do with the location of negotiations or skirmishes between the two parties and on the strongholds that were besieged and captured. Some of these accounts are due to eye witnesses (e.g. Ambroise) and obviously express the Crusader viewpoint. But for a local reaction, and indeed for the only Greek account from within Cyprus on these same events, we have to turn to a prolific author and ascetic, the well-known Neophytos the Recluse. In a letter addressed to an unnamed spiritual son of his who had fled to Constantinople and was awarded the title of *sebastos* by the emperor, Neophytos offers a rare glimpse of what a Cypriot, who was but indirectly affected, thought about the change of rule and the events in the wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean.[34] It is not surprising that for the Recluse the Muslims who captured the holy sites of Jerusalem under Saladin (1187) are dogs, while the crusaders do not fare much better in his invective, being described as wolves. In terms of prosopography, the main protagonists in this short tract, as in the western accounts, are Richard and Isaac Komnenos. Neophytos' attitude, although often assumed to represent the average local view, was coloured by his personal circumstances; he was after all not an average man. Hailing from a poor family of farmers he was largely self-educated and led a life of austere asceticism, confined in his hermitage but in contact with developments both within Cyprus itself and abroad through visitors to his Enkleistra.[35] Nevertheless his assessment of the character of the main actors is not too different from that of Constantinopolitan authors such as Niketas Choniates, who describes in the same unreservedly negative tone the regime of Isaac Komnenos (see Bibliography). Other Byzantine authors such as Theodore Skoutariotes in his *Synopsis chronike* and Theodosios Goudeles in his encomium of Christodoulos of Patmos furnish further details on particular episodes of Isaac's rule (see Bibliography).

The voluminous writings of Neophytos contain little else in terms of factual information about his contemporaries, although he does provide some valuable data about church and lay officials active in the later twelfth century (for example his patron the bishop of Paphos, Basil Kinnamos, and the latter's successor,

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[34] Neophytos the Recluse, *De calamitatibus Cypri*: see Bibliography for the editions.

[35] Catia Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991).

Bakchos).[36] For the period that concerns us here there are scattered references to a few often anonymous individuals involved in miracles related in the encomia of various saints and in other works composed by the Recluse, while his brother John, a monk and later hegoumenos of the monastery of St John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis where Neophytos himself had started his monastic career, is mentioned on several occasions.[37] His own career, on the other hand, is well documented through the Rule that he composed and revised in 1214 for the monastic community he founded next to his hermitage. Similarly, Neilos in his *typikon* for the Theotokos of Machairas, mentioned in the brief presentation of manuscript colophons above, also provides some details about his own career and about the founders of his monastery (see Bibliography).

The next main issue that Greek sources illuminate in the first half of the thirteenth century is that of the affairs and status of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus *vis-à-vis* the newly established Latin Church and its relations with the patriarchate and the secular authorities established at Nicaea after 1204. A patriarchal synod held in the church of Hyakinthos in June 1209 confirmed the election of a new archbishop of Cyprus, while two letters of Patriarch Germanos II dated 1223 and 1229 respectively advised on relations with the Latin Church (see Bibliography). The prosopographical information these documents provide is limited to the names and sees or monasteries of several prelates and monks from Cyprus (archbishops Esaias and Neophytos, Bishop Sabas of Paphos, Bishop Leontios of Solea, Hegoumenos Leontios of Apsinthiotissa), Asia Minor and Thrace. The writings of a later occupant of the patriarchal throne, the Cypriot Gregory II (1283–89), George of Cyprus, are relevant only to the extent that they provide information on their author's early days on the island, before his departure for Nicaea and then Constantinople (see Bibliography).

For a Greek text rich in prosopographical information we have to turn to the *Diegesis* of the thirteen monks of Kantariotissa, a monastery in north-eastern Cyprus, who were put to death in 1231 (see Bibliography). The *Diegesis* was written by an anonymous author not long after the events it describes. It relates the story of the monks John and Konon, who arrived in Cyprus from Kalon Oros on the south coast of Asia Minor probably in the wake of the Turkish conquest of the region in the opening years of the thirteenth century. Their peregrinations around the island in search of the ideal monastic retreat led them to the monasteries of Machairas in the Troodos and then to Koutsovendis in the Kyrenia mountains,

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36 Ibid., pp. 168–9.

37 See for example Hippolyte Delehaye, 'Saints de Chypre', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 26 (1907): pp. 161–301, here pp. 196, 205, 216, 293; Nike Papatriantaphyllou-Theodorides and Theodoros Giangos in *Αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου, Συγγράμματα*, 5 vols (Paphos, 1996–2005), vol. 3, pp. 111–542, here pp. 261, 283, 333, 340, 496; and Apostolos Karpozelos, ibid., vol. 5, pp. 418, 439. On John see Tassos Papacostas, 'The History and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis, Cyprus', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 61 (2007): pp. 76–9.

before finally settling near the castle of Kantara; along the way they were joined by several recruits, some presumably from the island itself, others from across the Sea of Cilicia (Hieremias, Michael and Theodore, all three from Kalon Oros).[38] Staunchly opposed to Latin doctrine, especially as far as the issue of unleavened bread (*azyma*) is concerned, they were prosecuted by the island's Latin Church and were eventually burnt at the stake in Nicosia. This occurred during a period of major upheavals:[39] the island was at the time in the midst of a civil war whose sources will be discussed below.

A number of letters surviving in the Palatinus graecus 367 provide an altogether different kind of information (see Bibliography). This manuscript merits particular attention, for it contains several documents relevant to our discussion. It was copied in *c.*1320 and can be described as a collection of miscellaneous materials, numbering almost 100 in total, put together by at least two generations of the same family of notaries in the service of both the secular and the ecclesiastical administrations: letters, epigrams, poems, patristic and liturgical texts, treatises on subjects as varied as ecclesiastical administration and metrology, the one and only known and much discussed medieval Greek Passion play, a Cypriot version of Spaneas, and lots more.[40] The letters in question are presented as models to be followed in the correspondence among rulers, officials and church prelates, and are therefore anonymized and decontextualized as much as possible.

In many cases, however, direct references to people, places and events have been left untouched. This is true in particular of several letters exchanged between the ruler of Cyprus and the Seljuks of Konya, and between Cyprus and Nicaea. The first group is dated to the second decade of the thirteenth century (1214 to *c.*1218) and deals primarily with commercial relations. It includes three letters from King Hugh I to 'Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwus I, one from the same king to a Seljuk court official at Konya, and one from the sultan to the king.[41] The second and slightly later group, dating from the 1230s, comprises two letters from King Henry I to

38 Discussion of the rather confusing prosopographical details in Theodore Papadopoullos, 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία Κύπρου κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας', in Theodore Papadopoullos (ed.), *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, tome 5, *Μεσαιωνικὸν βασίλειον - Ἑνετοκρατία*, 2 vols (Nicosia, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 571–3.

39 For a recent and compelling assessment see Chris Schabel, 'Religion', in Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (eds), *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 195–7.

40 Alexander Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 367*, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, 57 (Nicosia, 2007), and Alexander Beihammer, 'Byzantine Chancery Traditions in Frankish Cyprus: The Case of the Vatican *MS Palatinus Graecus 367*', in Sabine Fourrier and Gilles Grivaud (eds), *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre (Antiquité–Moyen Âge)* (Rouen, 2006), pp. 301–15.

41 Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe*, nos. 19–21, 32, 83.

John III Batatzes, one from the same king to the emperor's wife, and another from Archbishop Neophytos of Cyprus to the emperor.[42] These documents show that, not surprisingly, Greek served as the lingua franca between the courts of Nicosia and Nicaea, but much more interestingly also between Lusignans and Seljuks. In the latter case the ambassadors and envoys of both sides, mentioned in the letters, bear Greek names: a certain kyr Alexios sent by the sultan was presumably a Greek from the sultan's dominions, while Zacharias, sent by Hugh I, was presumably a Greek of Cyprus.

The civil war alluded to above, also known as the 'War of the Lombards', takes us back to languages other than Greek used in this period on Cyprus, and in this particular case, Old French. The war erupted in 1229 and spilled over to the mainland before coming to an end in 1233. It opposed the supporters of one of the Lusignan kingdom's most powerful families, the Ibelins, against those of the German emperor Frederick II, who attempted to impose his until then nominal suzerainty over Cyprus.[43] The principal sources for these events and the large cast of actors involved in their enactment are Philip of Novara and the *Estoire de Eracles* (see Bibliography). Philip was a vassal of the Ibelins and the author of several works including a manual on jurisprudence, a moral treatise, and his memoirs that contain a narrative of the war.[44] The latter survives only in the compilation put together in the early fourteenth century (perhaps by Gérard de Monréal) known as the *Gestes des Chiprois*. The *Estoire de Éracles* is the Old French translation of the chronicle of William of Tyre together with the bewildering number of recensions of its Continuation, and survives itself in different versions. These texts provide our major, although far from non-partisan, source of information for the supporters of the parties involved and the protracted hostilities. Indeed, this is yet another episode of the history of the Latin East that would benefit enormously from prosopographical treatment. But, as in the case of the crusades of this period mentioned earlier, the protagonists operate within a world that is far removed geographically, institutionally and culturally from that of Byzantium.

The *Gestes des Chiprois* also include two other texts that together provide one of the main narratives of the period concerning events on both the mainland and Cyprus. The *Chronicle of the Holy Land* finishes in 1224, while that of the so-called Templar of Tyre starts in 1242 and carries the story down to the early fourteenth century, the intervening period being of course covered by Philip of Novara's account (1218–42). It is primarily on these texts that the sixteenth-century Italian chronicle of Florio Bustron, written on Cyprus, and the related contemporary chronicle known as 'Amadi' base their extensive coverage of the thirteenth century. Other late narrative sources, such as the well-known fifteenth-century Greek chronicle of Leontios Machairas and the sixteenth-century Italian translation of its

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42 Ibid., nos. 26–9.

43 Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 48–65.

44 Grivaud, 'Literature', pp. 258–66, and *Entrelacs chiprois*, pp. 143–60.

Oxford recension known as the chronicle of Strambaldi, as well as the Italian and French versions of Étienne de Lusignan's history of Cyprus, have either very little to say or nothing new to add about this period (see Bibliography).

Another source that falls within the same category as the *Gestes des Chiprois* in that it is at best peripheral to Byzantine affairs, is the text known as the *Lignages d'Outremer*. Compiled in Ibelin circles in *c.*1265–70 by an anonymous author in order to clarify the transmission of fiefs in the Latin East, it contains notices on the most important families and includes information on approximately 1,000 individuals (noticeably, no Greek family names appear). This is obviously the closest one can get to a prosopographer's ideal text: here we have a medieval source giving direct information on families, kinship relations among individuals, their titles and origin; in short, most of the issues modern prosopographies are concerned with. Yet the details it provides are not always reliable, and were largely reproduced uncritically in what may be described as the first modern prosopographical study, namely the seventeenth-century *Les familles d'Outremer* by Du Cange.[45]

Several surviving documents, mostly in Latin, deal with the distribution of properties in the newly created kingdom of Cyprus in the early thirteenth century (see Bibliography). Estates were granted to, among others, the Latin Church, the Holy Sepulchre and the military orders. The interest of these texts for prosopography, however, is restricted, the largest category of individuals recorded being that of witnesses about whom little else is known. On a few rare occasions we get a glimpse of the fate of local landowners: we hear for example of a certain Lambite Sabastos, clearly a Greek named Olympites Sebastos, whose property in Limassol, owned together with his (unnamed) sister, was granted in 1210 by King Hugh I to the Hospitallers. Another Greek named Menas, who is recorded in our next source, had his *casale* of Levadi confirmed to the archbishop of Tyre a few years earlier in 1197.[46] The source in question is the Cartulary of St Sophia, the Latin cathedral of Nicosia. In a rare exception to the rule, this is an extensive archive from Latin Cyprus that has made it into modern times (see Bibliography). It contains around 100 acts from our period, emanating mostly from the papal curia but also from the royal court in Nicosia and the administration of the Latin Church of Cyprus; these documents pertain to the affairs of the church, including its privileges and properties. Their prosopographical interest, however, resides primarily in the members of the Latin clergy recorded.

Finally, to round up this survey of sources, a far more exciting document, and indeed by far the most prosopographically challenging and rewarding, is the report

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[45] Grivaud, 'Literature', pp. 257–8, and *Entrelacs chiprois*, pp. 141–3; Murray, 'Prosopography', pp. 118–19.

[46] Joseph Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906), vol. 2, p. 122; Nicholas Coureas and Chris Schabel, *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, 25 (Nicosia, 1997), p. 143.

of Marsilio Zorzi (see Bibliography). It was compiled by the Venetian *bailo* in the kingdom of Jerusalem in the early 1240s and includes sections on Venetian properties and privileges in Tyre, Acre and Cyprus. The Cyprus section lists more than 100 Venetian properties that were confiscated most probably in the very early days of Lusignan rule, in the 1190s. They were situated primarily in the town of Limassol and in its hinterland. Around ninety Venetians are named, including several mostly anonymous women who also owned estates on the island: the wife of *Iohannes Florianus*, proprietor of a *possessio* in Limassol; the sister of Giorgio Querini (*Georgius Cirinus*) and wife of Steno Marubiano (*Stenus Marubianus*), owner of houses in Limassol; a sister of Domenico Querini (*Dominicus Cirinus*), also owning a house in town; the wife of Viviano Bono (*Vivianus Bonus*), who sold her estate at Monagroulli near Limassol to her husband; the wife of a certain *Zitolus*, former owner of houses, fields and gardens in the outskirts of Limassol; the wife of Giovanni Michiel (*Iohannes Michael*), owner of an estate at the village of 'Achilai' – Kellaki? – in the hinterland of Limassol; Roberta Michiel (*Ruberta Michaelis*), the only named female holder of an estate, in this case at the unidentified locality of *Sancta Rachite* in the same region; and several others.[47] The new owners to whom these properties were granted are also recorded: the Latin Church, the military orders, the Pisan and Genoese communities, and around forty individuals. Among the latter we find again a couple of unnamed women (the daughter of Roberto *Sidonis*, the daughter of a certain *Vasilo(n)gus/Vassulongus* – perhaps a corrupt Greek name?) and a few Greeks (mostly anonymous 'Grifones') including a certain *Constantinus Colocatus*, which provides unique evidence for the diverse composition of the new landowning class that emerged from the redistribution of properties in the wake of the Latin conquest.[48] Even more interesting are the toponymic family names of a few Westerners that suggest their or their family's establishment on Cyprus well before the end of the twelfth century: we hear for example of a certain *Johannes Dormithia*, Ormedia being a village near Larnaca, or *Johannes de Palodhia*, another village this time near Limassol.[49] The extent and distribution of Venetian estates, in both urban but especially in rural areas, is significant, in that it suggests a considerable involvement not only in commercial dealings but also in the exploitation of agricultural resources.

Seeking a more secure chronological framework for the undated expropriations, I attempted in the past to track down in other sources as many of the landowners

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[47] Oliver Berggötz (ed.), *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi. Codex Querini-Stampalia IV 3 (1064)*, Kieler Werkstücke ser. C: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 186 line 2, 188 line 7, 188 line 9, 188 line 24, 189 line 2, 189 line 12, 190 line 14, 190 line 28, 190 line 30, 191 line 1.

[48] Ibid., pp. 185 line 4, 186 line 29, 187 lines 4–7, 187 line 20, 188 line 8, 189 line 20, 190 line 26.

[49] A similar case may be that of the Baffo: Tassos Papacostas, 'Secular Landholdings and Venetians in 12th-Century Cyprus', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 92 (1999): p. 486.

as possible.[50] Despite the pitfalls of identification of homonymous Venetians, one interesting result emerged from this investigation: many of the 45 Venetian families attested on Cyprus are also known to have been active elsewhere in the Mediterranean in the second half of the twelfth century and in the early thirteenth, primarily at Constantinople and Alexandria, but also in various Byzantine ports (Halmyros, Thebes, Corinth, Sparta), in Norman Sicily (Palermo, Messina), in Fatimid/Ayyubid Egypt (Damietta) and in the Crusader states (Tyre, Acre).

This document then, with the type of information it provides, illustrates most eloquently the uses to which prosopography may be put in order to trace broader developments, in this case aspects of the economic outlook of a particular area and of a group of persons. It also demonstrates the urgent need for the completion of underlying prosopographical work, in order to facilitate the profitable utilization and to maximize the exploitation of the untapped material that often lies unrecognized in edited sources.

50 Ibid.

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PART III
Western Interests

Chapter 12
Identities and Allegiances: The Perspective of Genoa and Pisa

Catherine Otten-Froux

It is difficult to examine the proposed topic of 'identities and allegiances' from the perspective of Pisa and Genoa during the period 1204–1261, because neither of these maritime republics took part in the Fourth Crusade and hence they had few contacts with the powers newly established in its aftermath on the territories of the former Byzantine Empire. In comparison with their positions under the Angelos dynasty, both Pisa and Genoa were losers after the 1204 crusade. So it makes sense to consider them together, going back in time to the period from 1182 onwards.

Even though the two Tyrrhenian republics were hereditary enemies, their position in the Byzantine Empire at the end of the twelfth century was similar (same economic activities, same levels of tax, same type of settlements in Constantinople).[1] After the stormy reign of Andronikos Komnenos, when their

[1] On the Italian maritime republics in Byzantium during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, among many articles, see the old but still useful books by Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1885), Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebietes bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge*, Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte, 3 (Munich–Berlin, 1906); Silvano Borsari, 'I rapporti tra Pisa e gli Stati di Romania nel duecento', *Rivista storica italiana*, 67 (1955): pp. 477–92; Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, MA, 1968); Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII^e–début XV^e siècle)* (Genoa–Rome, 1978); Catherine Otten, *Les Pisans en Orient de la première croisade à 1406*, unpublished dissertation (Université de Paris I, 1981); Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem Byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081–1204)* (Amsterdam, 1984); Catherine Otten-Froux, 'Documents inédits sur les Pisans en Romanie aux XIII^e–XIV^e siècles', in Michel Balard, Angeliki Laiou and Catherine Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris, 1987), pp. 155–95; Gerald W. Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium, 1155–1204: Commercial Expansion and Factionalism in a Medieval City* (Urbana–Chicago, IL, 1988); Silvano Borsari, 'Pisani a Bisanzio nel XII secolo', *Bollettino Storico Pisano*, 38 (1991) (= *Studi di Storia pisana e toscana in onore del professore Cinzio Violante*): pp. 59–75; Sandra Origone, *Bisanzio e Genova* (Genoa, 1992); David Jacoby, 'Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 24 (1994): pp. 349–68, reprinted in David Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Variorum Collected Studies

establishments were attacked, reconstruction of the Pisan and Genoese quarters in the capital was necessary. Both Pisa and Genoa had allowed, if not actively encouraged, pirate raids on the Byzantine coasts in retaliation for the 1182 attack on the Latins and their establishments.[2] Peace negotiations with both city-states concluded with one chrysobull each in 1192,[3] renewed in 1193 and 1201 for Genoa,[4] and in 1199[5] for Pisa. From 1992 onwards their refurbished quarters in Constantinople enjoyed some years of fruitful and well-documented activity,[6]

Series, 572 (Aldershot, 1997), article II; Ottavio Banti (ed.), *Amalfi, Genova, Pisa e Venezia. Il commercio con Costantinopoli e il vicino Oriente nel secolo XII* (Pisa, 1998).

2 On Italian piracy in eastern Mediterranean in the twelfth century, see the relevant information in Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*; Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker*; Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, pp. 211–14; Hélène Ahrweiler, 'Course et piraterie dans la Méditerranée orientale aux IVe–XVe siècles (Empire byzantin)', in *Commission internationale d'Histoire maritime. Course et piraterie*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1975), pp. 7–29; Balard, *La Romanie génoise*; Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, 'Die italienischen Levante-Piraterie und die Sicherheit der Seewege nach Syrien im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 65 (1978): pp. 461–510.

3 For Pisa: Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, vol. 2 (Munich–Berlin, 1925), no. 1607; Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1865–90), vol. 3, pp. 3–24; Giuseppe Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI*, Documenti degli archivi toscani pubblicati per la cura della R. Soprintendenza generale agli archivi medesimi (Florence, 1879), doc. 34, pp. 40–58 (Greek text and Latin translation). For Genoa: Dölger, *Regesten*, vol. 2, no. 1610; Miklosich and Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 3, pp. 25–37; Gerolamo Bertolotto, 'Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova con l'Impero bizantino', *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, 28 (1897): pp. 426–45; analysis in Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, pp. 34–8; Origone, *Bisanzio e Genova*, pp. 96–100.

4 For the document of 1193, see Dölger, *Regesten*, vol. 2, no. 1616; Miklosich and Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 3, pp. 40–46; Bertolotto, 'Nuova serie di documenti', pp. 454–9. The chrysobull of 1201 is lost, but we have the instructions given to Ottobono della Croce sent by the republic (ibid., pp. 469–75) and the record of the properties given by the emperor to form the Genoese quarter (ibid., pp. 475–99).

5 The text is lost, but its existence is attested by a record of receipts and expenditures for the Pisan quarter dated 30 June 1199: Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 47, p. 78.

6 For the Pisan quarter, see its description given in the *praktikon paradoseos* included in the 1192 chrysobull (cf. note 3), and the account for 1199: Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 47, pp. 75–8. Cf. Borsari, 'Pisani a Bisanzio nel XII secolo', pp. 59–75. For the Genoese quarter, and its gradual extension, see Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, pp. 105–12 and 179–82. For both quarters, Peter Schreiner, 'Untersuchungen zu den Niederlassungen westlicher Kaufleute im byzantinischen Reich des 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 7 (1979): pp. 175–94. See also David Jacoby, 'The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261; Topographical Considerations', in Claudia Sode

which can be contrasted with the paucity of documentation and reduced activity during the Latin Empire.

If we try to analyse the different sources that are useful for a proposographical study, we find a reasonable variety of detailed material for the period before the Fourth Crusade. Narrative sources like the *Annales Pisani*[7] or *Annales Ianuenses*[8] record not only dramatic events such as the massacre of the Latins, i.e. the Italian population, in 1182 in Constantinople, but also exchanges of ambassadors, like the arrival in Pisa of *Chumuniano*/Choumnos, sent by Manuel I Komnenos to negotiate the marriage of William of Montpellier with a relative of the emperor.[9] Names of Genoese and Pisan ambassadors are also mentioned in both chrysobulls of 1192, like the mission of the judge Sigerius and Ranieri Gaetani, who negotiated the chrysobull for Pisa, or that of Guglielmo Tornello and Guido Spinola, the two Genoese representatives.[10] Instructions given by the Commune of Pisa to its ambassadors in September 1197 show not only their names (Uguccione de Lamberto Bono and Pietro Modano) but also a list of claims against tax abuses by imperial officials. They include a request for reimbursement due to the Pisan creditors of Andronikos Komnenos when he was in Jerusalem before becoming emperor, or of Alexios Angelos, the future Alexios III, when a prisoner of the count of Tripoli (his creditors were Tediscio de Picicasegale, Simone Cimicosi and Gerardo Antonii).[11]

The life of the Pisans in Constantinople is well documented for the last ten years of the twelfth century. The extension of the Pisan quarter is given in the *praktikon paradoseos* attached to the chrysobull of 1192. For its inhabitants three documents are of particular interest: the first one, established on 8 April 1199, is an inquiry made by the Pisan viscount in Constantinople regarding the possessions of the Commune in the Byzantine capital and who is renting them.[12] The document gives a list of names, the object of the rent (house, land, landing stages) and the price, but also indicates the duration of the rental and the starting date of the contracts (see Table 12.1).

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and Sarolta Takács (eds), *Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 153–70.

7 Bernardo Maragone, *Annales Pisani*, ed. M. Lupo Gentile, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new series, 6, part 2 (Bologna, 1936).

8 *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, eds L.T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, vol. 2 (Rome, 1901).

9 Maragone, *Annales Pisani*, pp. 68–9. On this marriage, see Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Daniel Duran i Duelt, 'Una ambaixada catalana a Constantinoble el 1176 i el matrimoni de la princesa Eudoxia', *Anuario de Estudios medievales*, 30/2 (2000): pp. 963–77.

10 For Pisa: Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 34; see note 3. For Genoa, Bertolotto, 'Nuova serie di documenti', pp. 424–5.

11 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 44, pp. 71–3.

12 Ibid., doc. 46, pp. 74–5.

Table 12. 1 List of tenants of properties belonging to the Commune of Pisa in Constantinople (Giuseppe Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI, Documenti degli archivi toscani pubblicati per la cura della R. Soprintendenza generale agli archivi medesimi* [Florence, 1879], doc. 46).

tenants	**object**	**yearly price**	**length of rental**	**start date**	**date of payment**
Vinceguerra	1 house	14 hyp.	27 years	1195	1 Nov.
Pregadio di Vico	1 house in Cainato	11 hyp.	5 years	1199	1 March
Gherardo shoemaker (*calthularius*)	2 houses	21 hyp.	28 years	1198	1 March
Uberto Barbalonga	houses	26 hyp.	?	?	1 April
Caloianes Pilocti	piece of land with a house	12 hyp.	12 years	1195	1 June
Fulcherio Gaimi	1 house	9 hyp.	25 years	1190	1 March
Bartolomeo Gualterii	1 house and 1 manure dump (*voitinum*)	35 hyp.	20 and 25 years	1195	1 May
Ferrante	1 piece of land	7 hyp.	27 years	1195	1 Oct.
Bonafemina	1 piece of land	17 hyp. 5 carats	27 years	1195	1 April
Bonanno Pulliani	1 piece of land	11 hyp. 7 carats	27 years	1195	1 April
son of Ugo Ebriaco	1 piece of land	8 hyp.	25 years	1195	1 March
Savasti	1 piece of land	6 and a half hyp.	27 years	1195	1 April
son of Lamberto de Carpita	1 piece of land	8 hyp.	25 years	1195	1 March
widow of Ugo Spano	1 piece of land	8 hyp. 9 carats	25 years	1195	1 April
kyra (*kyura*) Bona, sister of the priest Benenato	1 piece of land	17 hyp. 1/4	25 years	1195	1 April
son of Orlando and Angelo	1 piece of land	25 hyp.	25 years	1194	1 June
Dainese Lumbardo	1 piece of land	29 hyp.	25 years	1194	1 June
Plebano (*Plebanus*)	1 piece of land	24 hyp.	25 years	1195	1 June
Corrado	1 piece of land	57 hyp.	27 years	1195	1 June

Bonfilio the baker (*fornarius*)	1 piece of land	26 hyp.	20 years	1195	1 March
daughters of Domenico the blacksmith (*faber*)	1 piece of land	22 hyp.	28 years	119?	1 June
Gualando Dente	1 landing stage (*scala*)	55 hyp.	20 years	1195	1 May
Bonagiunta son of Gualando Gombo	1 landing stage (*scala*)	60 hyp.	14 years	1195	1 April
Ildebrando, in charge of landing stage (*scalarius*)	1 landing stage (*scala*)	100 hyp.	12 years	1193	1 March
Ugo di Montemagno	1 piece of land	11 hyp.	28 years	11??	1 July
Bonaccorso Guallacce	1 piece of land and 1 landing stage (*scala*)	25 hyp.+ 100 hyp.	25 years	1195	1 April
Leo *Malvasciotus*	1 piece of land of 11 cubits *in testa*	4 hyp.	25 years	1195	1 March
idem	another piece of land of 5 cubits *in testa*	2 hyp.	20 years	?	1 Oct.
wife of Uguiccio Bolgaro	1 piece of land of 24 cubits *in testa*	12 hyp.	?	1195	1 July
son of Stefano, rope-maker (*canaparius*)	1 piece of land of 12 cubits *in testa*	9 hyp.	25 years	11??	1 Nov.
Vito, the baker (*fornarius*)	3 houses *in Cainato*	30 hyp.	10 years	?	1 March
Commune of Pisa	1 house	12 carats a month (=6 hyp. a year)	?	?	
Plebano (*Plebanus*)	1 piece of land next to his other	3 hyp.	?	?	?
Cacciabate	1 piece of land	2 hyp.	?	?	?
Bartolomeo *Guallterii*	6 houses	53 hyp.	28 years	119?	1 March
Benencasa the blacksmith (*faber*)	1 piece of land of 11 cubits *in testa*	4 hyp. 1/4	?	119?	?
Commune of Pisa	1 piece of land				

It shows that a great majority of the contracts were for more than 20 years, starting mainly in 1195, which proves that the Pisans were firmly settled in Constantinople on the eve of the Fourth Crusade. Among the names, very few sound Greek, but Greek influence is visible, for example, in the name of the sister of the priest Benenato; she is called 'Kyura [*sic*] Bona', there are also Kaloiannes Pilocti and *Savastus*, who might be Greeks.[13]

Relations with the Byzantines are visible in the second document, an account of income and expenditure of the Pisan colony dating from 30 June 1199: revenues of real estate and sundry expenses, like those incurred by the ambassadors, money given for drawing up the chrysobull, for the banner on the imperial boat, and for pushing the Pisan case concerning their installation in Thessalonike (in 1197, they had asked for a quarter and a viscount).[14] Pisans listed in Table 12.1 are again quoted in this document together with a few more names; they are all listed in Table 12.2

Table 12.2 List of Pisans in Constantinople in 1199 (Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni*, docs 46 and 47)

(Names with ** are mentioned in both documents and also listed on Table 1; names with * are mentioned in doc. 47 and doc. 46 (as witnesses for example), but not as tenants, therefore not listed in Table 1. Names with no specification appear only in one of the two documents as indicated)
Abracciabene di Silvalunga (doc. 46)
Alberto Barbalonga (is he the same man as Uberto Barbalonga from Table 1?) (doc. 47)
Alberto, messenger sent from Pisa (doc. 47)
Alberto Scilinguato (doc. 46)
Bandino Barda (doc. 47)
Bandino Lisciato (doc. 46)
**Bartolomeo *Gualterius* or *Gualterii* (quoted twice)
**Beneincasa the blacksmith (*faber*)
Benenato prior (doc. 47)
Bernardo *Lucensis* (of Lucca) (doc. 47)
Bianco di Guardavigna (doc. 46)
**Bona (sister of the prior)
**Bonacorso Gualacce. He sells wood for 3 and ½ hyperpera
**Bonafemina
**Bonagiunta (son) of Gualando

13 Cf. Borsari, 'Pisani a Bisanzio nel XII secolo', pp. 59–75.

14 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 47, pp. 75–8.

Bonaguida son of the late Stracciato (doc. 46)
**Bonanno
**Bonfilio the baker (*fornarius*)
**Cacciabbate
**Corrado
***Daniensis* (he is probably the same man as Dainese Lumbardo from Table 1. He sells cereals to the viscount for 12 hyperpera)
**daughters of Domenico the blacksmith (*faber*)
Domenico *Mostarabus* (doc. 47)
dominus Guelfus (doc. 47)
***Ferrans* (same man as Ferrante)
Fulcherio (is he the same man as Fulcherio Gaimi ?) (doc. 47)
Gherardo Arcossi, viscount (doc. 47)
Gherardo *Fam<iliatus>* (The name is incomplete in the document, but we can with certainty identify this important Pisan family of juges and notaries) (doc. 47)
**Gherardo the shoemaker (*calṣolarius*)
Giacomo the interpreter (doc. 47)
Guido Alfei, messenger sent from Pisa (doc. 47)
Guido Curvaria (doc. 47)
**Ildebrando, in charge of landing stage (*scalarius*)
Ildebrando, notary from Vico (doc. 47)
Ildebrando son of the late Ranucci (doc. 46)
**Kaloiannes Pilocti
**Lamberto Carpita (his son rent a piece of land)
Lamberto *de Septimo* (doc. 47)
**Leo *Malvasiotus*
Leonardo di Tricco (doc. 46)
**Margarito et Angelo (*Margaritus* is probably the son of Orlando quoted with Angelo in Table 1)
Ottaviano messenger sent from Pisa (doc. 47)
Pietro *de Iudice* (doc. 47)
**Pregadio
**Plebano
Pietro Modani, legate of the city of Pisa (doc. 47)
Ranieri Greca (doc. 46)
**Sevasti
*Sigerio son of the late Bernardo Cinami, viscount (he also made the inquiry of April 1199)

Sigerio Gualfredi Grassi *iurisperitus* (doc. 47)
Simone Cimicosi (doc. 47)
Stefano son of the late Giovanni (doc. 46)
*Tolomeo *iudex et notarius curie* (judge and notary of the court of the viscount, witness of the inquiry of April) very probably to identify with *Tolomeus Familiati* the notary who writes the accounts (doc. 47), brother of Ildebrando *Familiati*.
**son of Gualando Gombo (he is called Bonagiunta in doc. 46)
**son of Stefano the rope-maker (*canaparius*)
Ugo Capello (doc. 46)
*Ugo *de Cantore* (he was witness of the inquiry of April)
**Ugo Ebriaco (his son is quoted in Table 1) (doc. 47)
**Ugo di Montemagno
Ugo son of the late Martino (doc. 46)
**Ugo Spano (from the same family as Ranieri Spano; he died between the 1 and the 8 April 1199, since he payed his rent on the 1 of April and his widow is registered for the rent of a piece of land on the 8 of the same month).
**Uguicio Bolgari (his wife is mentioned in Table 1)
**Vito the baker (*fornarius*)
**Winciguerra

Finally the third document, an inquiry dating from July 1200, quotes the names of ten witnesses born in Constantinople or resident for more than 25 years; they were thus able to testify to the ancient ecclesiastical rights given by the pope to the Pisan churches of St Nicholas and St Peter and their prior, the original document having been lost during the events of 1182. This inquiry, made by the prior Benenato, gives the names of a total of 23 Pisans resident in Constantinople in 1199.[15] Many are relatives of the ten witnesses, children baptized by the priests Pietro or Benenato, and their godparents, others confirmed (see the list in Table 12.3).

Table 12.3 List of witnesses produced by the prior Benenato in July 1200 (Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 51).

Adeodatus, son of Bindo
Alexis son of the late Pilotto (he is probably a brother of Domenico)
Balduino di Vico
Benenato prior
Bonanno son of the late Lamberto Puliano

15 Ibid., doc. 51, pp. 81–2.

Diotisalvi, blacksmith,
Domenico di Pilotto (lives in Constantinople for 25 years)
Giovanni de Rame
Guiscardo Messito
Isaac (*puer*)
Oberto, inn-keeper
the late Petracca Mocoso (document written in his house)
Pregadio di Vico
Ranieri Spano
son of Albertino d'Erro.
Stefano son of the late Ranieri, baker

Their declaration are witnessed by another group of Constantinople inhabitants

Baco son of the late Baco (*quondam Baconis*)
Bandino, priest, chaplain of the legate
Giovanni, chamberlain of the legate,
Guido son of the late Raineri Alfei
dominus Ildebrando Famigliati
Marco, priest
dominus Mauricio, knight of the late Alessandro da Ponte,
Nicolo of Dyrrachion (*de Durachio*), archdeacon
Ranieri son of the late Ghiberto papal notary
dominus Sigerio son of the late Bernardo Cinami, viscount

Earlier in 1199, on 11 February, in the house of the deacon Leon, the same notary drew up a document with other testimonies from a group of ecclesiastics, in presence of other churchmen, probably clerics in the service of other Latin communities at Constantinople:

Master Albertino, notary of the papal chamber (*camere domini papae notarius*).
Alberto subdeacon and chaplain of the papal legate
Bonagiunta, priest
Domenico, priest, prior of the Anconitans,
Giovanni *Robicus*
Gualafrio, priest
Guarnerio, priest
Nicolò, priest

Several come from the village of Vico outside Pisa, which created a fairly common identity among Pisan residents of Constantinople, e.g. Ildebrando, the notary. The identification of Oberto, the *osbergarius* (innkeeper), and Ranieri, *fornarius* (baker), indicates a well-established community. Other witnesses to the

same act, which was drawn up in the house of the late Petracca Mocoso, are all residents of Constantinople and some are Pisans: *dominus* Sigerio (noted above) and *dominus* Ildebrando Famigliati, both judges; Ranieri Alfei son of the late Guido, and probably Baco son of the late Baco and Ranieri of the late Giberto, a papal notary. They were summoned to attest the truth of the document when a first list of witnesses, recorded by the same notary for the same prior Benenato and composed entirely of ecclesiastics, such as Domenico, prior of the Anconitans, was considered inadequate.

All these people are usually inhabitants of long standing, some of them natives of Constantinople if not actually Byzantine. It would be interesting to see if the same names appear again in documents after 1204, but unfortunately Pisan records are very scarce for the period of the Latin Empire. The list of properties quoted in the document of April 1199 does not represent the entirety of Pisan possessions in Constantinople, only the more recent ones. The oldest privileges (estates, church, use of own weights and measures, landing stages and the taxes for using them) obtained in the first chrysobulls, granted to the Commune of Pisa by emperors Alexis and John Komnenos at the beginning of the twelfth century, had been entrusted to the Cathedral of Pisa dedicated to the Virgin, and to the Opera del Duomo, in charge of the administration of its goods in 1160.[16] In April 1162 this action of the consuls of Pisa was effective in Constantinople.[17] It was probably a measure of protection to safeguard those rights from possible confiscation by Manuel Komnenos. The priest (prior) in charge of the Pisan churches in Constantinople collected these revenues and sent the money to the *operarius* del Duomo in Pisa (as we shall see below).

We lack such detailed documentation for Genoa. Only the description of the quarter in the *praktikon paradoseos* (in the Latin of our documents *practicum traditionis*)[18] of 1201 has survived, and a notice of another *praktikon* dating from May 1203.[19]

Another category of Italians in Constantinople consists of men in the service of the emperor, interpreters and soldiers. We know of Pisan imperial interpreters, for example Leo Toscan, brother of Ugo Eteriano, a well-known Pisan translator of Greek texts from Antiquity or from the Church Fathers such as St John

16 Ibid., doc. 7, pp. 8–9.

17 Ibid., doc. 8, p. 10.

18 A transmission document registering all pieces of land granted, occasionally with their boundaries.

19 For the prostagma of 1201 see Bertolotto, 'Nuova serie di documenti', pp. 475–91; Miklosich and Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 3, pp. 49–50. For the notice of 1203, Peter Schreiner, 'Genua, Byzanz und der 4. Kreuzzug: ein neues Dokument im Staatsarchiv Genua', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 63 (1983): pp. 292–7.

Chrysostomos.[20] Another interpreter is also mentioned, one Giacomo Pisano, who was sent by Isaac II Angelos to negotiate with Frederick Barbarossa in 1190 when the German Crusaders of the Third Crusade were approaching Constantinople.[21] A few years later in September 1194, he was also sent by the emperor to Pisa after many attacks by Pisan pirates along the coasts of the empire, but the Commune refused to be held responsible and the negotiations were broken off.[22] His name appears again in the Pisan colony accounts for 1199, when he received money for the marriage of his daughter.[23] The names of two liegemen of the emperor are also recorded: Pipino (in Greek Pipinos), a Pisan knight in the service of Isaac Angelos, captured by pirates on a boat around 1192, and the Genoese Balduino Guercio. Both are called *kaballerios lizios* ('liege knight'), a term borrowed from western feudal vocabulary to note the personal link uniting these men to the emperor.[24] They were long-standing inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire and have to be considered alongside the Greeks when making a prosopographical study of the Byzantine Empire. It was on the Pisan boat of Count Ranieri di Segalari and Ildebrando Famigliati, two important members of the Pisan colony, that the young Alexios IV fled from Constantinople after escaping from the prison where he had been kept with his father, the dethroned Isaac II Angelos.[25] This reflects the very close and trusted relations between the colony and factions within the imperial court.

A further category of Italians includes Genoese and Pisan pirates, some of them known by name, who were very mobile and active in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Byzantine waters during the last decade of the twelfth century and the first of the thirteenth. The emperor wrote letters to the Pisan and Genoese authorities complaining of their attacks and asking for compensation.[26] The

20 On Ugo Eteriano (*Hugo Etherianus*) and his brother Leo Toscan, see Antoine Dondaine, 'Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 19 (1952): pp. 137–62; see also the article by A. Rigo, 'Leone Toscano', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 64 (Rome, 2005), pp. 557–60.

21 Dölger, *Regesten*, vol. 2, nos. 1597, 1602 and 1603. See Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, pp. 180–85.

22 Dölger, *Regesten*, vol. 2, no. 1618; Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 41, p. 67; Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, p. 213. Giacomo is mentioned above p. 251, table 12.2.

23 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 47, p. 77.

24 On Pipino, see Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, pp. 211–12; on Balduino Guercio, see Origone, *Bisanzio e Genova*, p. 66, with reference for both Pipino and Balduino to Miklosich and Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 3, p. 37, and Bertolotto, 'Nuova serie di documenti', pp. 448–51.

25 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I.A. van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin–New York, 1975), pp. 536–7; see Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, pp. 215–16 and n. 13, p. 371.

26 Cf. note 2; Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 41, pp. 66–7 for Pisa; for Genoa, Miklosich and Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 3, pp. 37–40, and Bertolotto, 'Nuova serie di documenti', pp. 448–51. See Favreau-Lilie, 'Die italienischen Levante-Piraterie'.

successful operations of these pirates prove their acquaintance with East Mediterranean waters.

Before the Fourth Crusade two important figures were at the head of the flourishing Pisan colony in Constantinople: the viscount for civil and juridical matters, and the prior who in addition to his priestly duties shared with the viscount responsibility for the finances of the Pisan establishment, mainly collecting the taxes and sending the surplus to Pisa. In 1197 another viscount was required for Thessalonike.[27] Neither before nor after 1204 does the viscount of Constantinople have a title that might indicate a broader jurisdiction, such as the Pisan consul in Acre in the thirteenth century.[28] It is the latter who is in charge of the goods of a deceased compatriot in Atramyttion in 1245.[29] So has the viscount no responsibility for Pisans in other parts of the Byzantine Empire? What about the Pisan community in Halmyros? Usually appointed in Pisa, the viscount was not supposed to stay in the capital for longer than his office required; by the end of the thirteenth century a fixed term had been established. This arrangement is quite different from the priors, who seem to hold office without any time constraint. Benenato who succeeds Pietro, stays in Constantinople for nearly his entire clerical lifetime; as we have seen, he is in charge of the revenues of the properties of the Pisan cathedral church in Constantinople (*oblationum vivorum et mortuorum, de stateris et mensuris et ceteris aliis introitibus*[30]), and has to dispatch them to the *Opera del Duomo* in Pisa.[31] In 1177, Pietro had sent 100 hyperpera to Pisa.[32]

Benenato, attested as a witness in Pisa in 1196, is already called *presbiter Benenatus de Costantinopoli*;[33] still in Pisa in July 1197, he swore fidelity to the *Opera del Duomo* and then returned to Constantinople.[34] He wanted to recover the ecclesiastical rights obtained by his predecessor Pietro (the right to baptize, to give confirmation, to ordain minor clergy). In 1199, therefore, he opened the public inquiry already mentioned.[35] He goes to Rome again and to Pisa, sent by Alexios III on a mission of which we have no details. He is back in Constantinople

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27 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 44, pp. 71–2, and doc. 47, p. 78.

28 In Acre, the Pisan consul is entitled *Consul Accon et totius Syrie* and his jurisdiction extends over the kingdom of Jerusalem, principality of Antioch and county of Tripoli, Cyprus, Lesser Armenia and even Asia Minor (lands of the Nicean Empire), in spite of the existing representative of lesser rank.

29 Robert Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, vol. 2, *Aus den Stadtbüchern und Urkunden von San Gimignano* (Berlin, 1900), p. 295.

30 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 62, p. 94.

31 Ibid., doc. 8, p. 10.

32 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, pp. 469–70, document placed in the part called Illustrazioni at the end of the volume.

33 Natale Caturegli, *Regesta della chiesa di Pisa*, Regesta Chartarum Italiae, 24 (Rome, 1938), doc. 612.

34 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 43, p. 70.

35 Ibid., doc. 51, pp. 81–2.

just before the arrival of the crusading army, and remains there for another 20 years.[36] In 1223 he complains of the loss of revenues; whereas during the reign of Alexios III he was able to send 1,000 hyperpera to Pisa and 300 to the archbishop, in 1223 the resources of the Pisan churches in Constantinople were not sufficient to maintain the buildings and to cover the expenses of the prior with his *familia*. He had to spend 300 hyperpera for that purpose and to purchase books and ecclesiastical ornaments.[37]

Constantinople was not the only place where the Pisans were established before the Fourth Crusade: they were present at Halmyros (first mentioned in 1153) next door to the Venetians.[38] They had a church dedicated to St James, houses, a hospital, and an *embolon* (market) there. This establishment was destroyed in 1157 during the raid of William of Sicily. They asked for help in restoring it in 1197.[39] The Pisan quarter in Halmyros is mentioned in negotiations and treaties with Venice.[40] Pisans were also present in Thessalonike, but we do not know under what conditions. At least some of their demands of 1197 were granted by Alexios III, as we can see from the Pisan accounts of 1199, in spite of the lack of a surviving chrysobull.[41] Although there are no Pisan commercial contracts for that period, a Venetian receipt, dating from April 1201 in Constantinople, attests to the activity of Pisan merchants in the Peloponnese: Laboratore da Putignano, Martino Pilicie and Albisello, brother of the *sebastos* (*sevastus*) Ferrante, sold 34 *miliarii* of oil to Leonardo Simitecolo in Modon (Methone) for 1,000 hyperpera, and acknowledged the payment made by the buyers.[42]

There is less documentary material for the Genoese population in its Constantinopolitan quarter. The *Annales Genuenses*, official charters, chrysobulls with *praktikon paradoseos* (*practicum traditionis*) are the main sources. According to the surviving documents, the Genoese do not seem to have had any firm establishments in places other than Constantinople. Commercial contracts drawn up in Genoa confirm this image: Constantinople is the only place recorded as a trading destination within the empire. This does not mean that their ships were not calling at different places such as Crete, Halmyros and Euripos (in Euboia), where a vessel caught fire in 1171, or that Genoese merchants were not present in the Black Sea, as David Jacoby has shown.[43] The use of the word *Romania* to designate

36 Ibid., doc. 62, pp. 93–4. See Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, p. 276.

37 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 62, pp. 93–4.

38 Ibid., doc. 3, p. 5.

39 Ibid., doc. 44, p. 71.

40 For example in the treaty of 1214, Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 57, pp. 88–9.

41 Ibid., doc. 47, pp. 75–8.

42 Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca and Antonino Lombardo (eds), *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII* (Turin, 1940), vol. 1, no. 456, p. 446.

43 Jacoby, 'Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium'; David Jacoby, 'Byzantine Crete in the Navigation and Trade Networks of Venice and Genoa', in Laura Balletto (ed.),

the empire's territory as a destination or area of action, as well as the formula 'and where God will send me', common in commercial contracts, makes the entire hypothesis plausible, and it would be astonishing not to meet Genoese where Pisans and Venetians are regular customers. But Romania can also be excluded as a destination during the years of danger, as seen for example in two contracts of *societas* dated December 1190 and January 1191 (before the chrysobull of 1192 and when pirates were active). They record that the investment can be brought to Naples and Sicily or wherever the merchants will decide, *praeter Romaniam* (except Romania).[44] Similarly, in eight contracts of *commenda* or *societas* drawn up in September 1203, when the crusaders' army was encamped before the walls of Constantinople, the money invested or the goods acquired could be sent to Ultremare or elsewhere, but not to Romania.[45]

If I have insisted on the time before 1204 it is mainly to show the difference in the nature and quantity of the information available in Italian sources. They show that Italians, both Genoese and Pisans, had been settled in Constantinople for so long that they became Constantinopolitan, in contact with the highest ranks of the Byzantine society and even liegemen of the emperor. Such people long established in the capital, with family and children, took the Greek side in helping to defend the city walls against the onslaught of the crusaders.[46] Part of their identity came from their residence in Constantinople and they may with some justification be called Byzantines.

The Fourth Crusade caused dramatic changes in the situation of Genoa and Pisa in Byzantium.[47] Both republics lost much in 1204; chroniclers mention the

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Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna (Acqui Terme, 1997), pp. 517–40; David Jacoby, 'The Byzantine Outsider in Trade (c. 900–c. 1350)', in Dion C. Smythe (ed.), *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 129–47; David Jacoby, 'Les Latins dans les villes de Romanie jusqu'en 1261: le versant méditerranéen des Balkans', in Michel Balard, Élisabeth Malamut and Jean-Michel Spieser (eds), *Byzance et le monde extérieur. Contacts, relations, échanges* (Paris, 2005), pp. 13–26; David Jacoby, 'Byzantium, the Italian Maritime Powers and the Black Sea before 1204', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 100 (2007): pp. 677–99.

44 Margaret W. Hall, Hilmar C. Krueger and Robert L. Reynolds (eds), *Notai liguri dei secoli XII e XIII*, vol. 2, *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192)*, 2 vols (Turin, 1938), nos. 19 and 21.

45 Margaret W. Hall-Cole, Hilmar C. Kruger, Ruth G. Renert and Robert L. Reynolds (eds), *Notai liguri dei secoli XII e XIII*, vol. 5, *Giovanni di Guiberto*, 2 vols (Genoa, 1939–40), nos. 649, 661, 694, 695, 779, 835.

46 The events are told in a letter by Hugues of Saint-Pol inserted in the *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum (Hanover, 1880; reprinted 2003), pp. 204–5 (also printed in Müller [ed.], *Documenti sulle relazioni*, p. 434); *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, p. 545.

47 Borsari, 'I rapporti tra Pisa e gli Stati di Romania', pp. 477–92; Michel Balard, 'Les Génois en Romanie entre 1204 et 1261. Recherches dans les minutiers notariaux génois', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, 78 (1966):

terrible fires that destroyed parts of the city in the summers of 1203 and 1204. Pisa and Genoa lost not only their establishments, properties and goods, but also their position in the East. They responded to the disaster in different ways. The Pisans remained in Constantinople but seemingly on a lower level, while the Genoese sought retaliation. For Pisa, the names of two viscounts are recorded, Ranieri Federici and Giacomo Scarlate,[48] and of two priors, the Benenato already mentioned and Gaitano.[49] The need for financial help recorded by Benenato is proof of a community no longer so wealthy, but anxious to recover its former privileges. Benenato also obtained from the papal legate the revenues of Greek ecclesiastical establishments in Constantinople and surroundings, which had fallen into lay hands.[50] Pisa clearly decided to maintain its position in the Eastern Empire, even under a change of ruler. It succeeded and the Latin Emperor, Henry of Hainault, granted Pisa confirmation of the *consuetudines et iura consueverunt habere in imperio*,[51] privileges again confirmed in 1228 by the empress regent Mary.[52]

In the same period, Pisa also established good relations with Venice, which had won the most prominent position in Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade and firmly established itself in the territories of the former empire: a first agreement is already found in 1207,[53] confirmed by a further treaty in 1214.[54] It is not certain that the paragraph relating to Halmryos in the treaty of 1214 is genuine; it could be merely a repetition of the 1180 convention. Anyway Pisans and Venetians remained allies for the entire period of the Latin Empire, fighting together during the St Sabbas war in the Holy Land in 1258. Even if it is clear that a small Pisan

pp. 467–502; Origone, *Bisanzio e Genova*; Michel Balard, 'Génois et Pisans en Orient (fin XIII^e^–début XIV^e^ siècle)', in *Genova, Pisa e il Mediterraneo tra Due e Trecento. Per il VII centenario della battaglia della Meloria* (Genoa, 1984), pp. 179–209; Enrico Basso, 'Le relazioni fra Genova e gli Stati latini di Grecia nei secoli XIII–XIV', in Francesco Guida and Luisa Valmarin (eds), *Studi balcanici pubblicati in occasione del VI Congresso internazionale dell'Association Internationale d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Sofia 30 agosto–5 Settembre 1989*, Quaderni di Clio, 8 (Rome, 1989), pp. 19–31; Sandra Origone, 'Genova e Venezia al tempo della quarta Crociata', in Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani and Peter Schreiner (eds), *Quarta crociata. Venezia – Bisanzio – Impero latino* (Venice, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 97–124.

48 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 55, p. 87, and doc. 56, p. 87.

49 Respectively ibid., doc. 62, pp. 93–4 for Benenato, and for Gaitano, Lucien Auvray, *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1890–96), no. 461, and Gero Dolezalek, *Das Imbreviaturbuch des erzbischöflichen Gerichtsnotars Hubaldus aus Pisa. Mai bis Augustus 1230* (Cologne–Vienna, 1969), no. 43.

50 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 54, pp. 84–6.

51 Ibid., doc. 55, pp. 86–7.

52 Ibid., doc. 56, p. 87.

53 Wilhelm Heyd, 'Documento concernente le contese fra Venezia, Genova e Pisa, anno 1207', in *Giornale ligustico di archeologia storia e belli arti*, 1 (1874): pp. 69–72.

54 Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni*, doc. 57, pp. 88–90.

community remained in Constantinople with its viscount and its prior, no Pisan commercial document has been preserved relating to Romania during the Latin Empire; the surviving ones attest to trading activities only in Egypt and the Holy Land. As to Pisan relations with the empire of Nicaea, we have no record of them, but the mention of Pisans as *fideles nostri* by Michael Palaiologos in the text of the treaty of Nymphaion of 1261 with Genoa, is proof of friendly contacts started earlier.

The Genoese, on the other hand, disappear from Constantinople but remain active in former imperial territory, as shown by an interesting contract of *commenda* concluded in Genoa in March 1206, in which Pagano Vento agrees to take a capital sum of 50 pounds to Thessalonike on the galleys going to Romania for trade.[55] The same year, on 3 May, a Genoese named Porco borrowed 100 pounds of Genoese money from Ogerio Porco, son of Oberto Porco, money he promised to give back in the form of 400 hyperpera 15 days after the safe arrival of the galley in Thessalonike or elsewhere in the land where the daughter of Boniface of Montferrat was sent to be married.[56] In these cases the Genoese took advantage of their good relationship with the family of Montferrat newly established in the second city of the Byzantine Empire. On 23 July 1210 a contract of *commenda* amounting to 12 pounds of Genoese money is concluded between Rainaldo Capparagia and Ansaldo, son of Giacomo Portonario, in order to trade in Crete or elsewhere on the ship called *Glauca*.[57] Michel Balard quotes two contracts of April 1209, a *commenda* and a loan, between Ansalo de Nigro and Guglielmo Tartaro, the latter going to Romania on the galley of Otto Pulpo and Pasquale Bocatio.[58]

Genoese commercial documents very often use the word *Romania*, before and after the Fourth Crusade. What is *Romania* in the first half of the thirteenth century? What are the geographical limits of Romania according to the Genoese traders or notaries? *Commenda* contracts drawn up immediately or a few years after the conquest (1205, 1206, 1210), all published long ago,[59] specify that, when a merchant goes to *Ultramare* (to the Holy Land) or Alexandria and 'where God will send him', one region remains forbidden: that is *Romania*. This exclusion

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55 Hall-Cole, Kruger, Renert and Reynolds (eds), *Notai liguri*, vol. 5, no. 1683.

56 Ibid., vol. 5, no. 1997.

57 Hilmar C. Kruger and Robert L. Reynolds (eds), *Notai liguri dei secoli XII e XIII*, vol. 6, *Lanfranco (1202–1226)*, 2 vols (Genoa, 1939–40), no. 652.

58 Balard, 'Les Génois en Romanie', p. 473.

59 Hall-Cole, Kruger, Renert and Reynolds (eds), *Notai liguri*, vol. 5; Kruger and Reynolds (eds), *Notai liguri*, vol. 6; see also the few acts by the notary Guglielmo di Sori published at the end of her article by Sandra Origone, 'Genova, Costantinopoli e il regno di Gerusalemme (prima metà sec. XIII)', in Gabriela Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 48 (Genoa, 1986), pp. 281–316.

clause appears four times in the cartulary of Guiberto for the period after 1204.[60] Yet it is clear that Cyprus is not included in Romania, although it was part of the Byzantine Empire until 1191. In fact, because of its location, Cyprus is part of *Ultramare*; hence it is much more concerned with the political and economic situation in the Holy Land than in Constantinople. Some commercial contracts point to this when they enumerate the possible ports of call and destinations: *per riveiram Solie et in Cipri* (the coast of Syria and Cyprus),[61] to quote one example among many others.

The Genoese also tried to hamper Venetian activities by piratical actions, first in the Adriatic where Leone Vetrano attacked Corfu, then in Crete, which Venice had acquired from Boniface of Montferrat in August 1204 and where Enrico Pescatore, a Genoese, established himself for a few years. The *Annali genovesi* record the conquest of the island of Crete by Enrico and also explain how Genoa twice sent ships to help him against the Venetian troops, in 1208 and 1210.[62] This is not the place to tell the story of the count of Malta, which has been done by David Abulafia,[63] but I would like to draw attention to a document signed by Enrico Pescatore on 25 July 1210. He styles himself *comes Malte et dominus Crete*. He promises the men of Genoa fighting with him in Crete against Venice all the usual privileges: protection for persons and goods, exemption from taxes, freedom to come and go, an annual gift of 1,000 hyperpera to the Commune of Genoa, a *pallium* to the church of San Lorenzo and another *pallium* to the archbishop, as long as he will hold the island, if he can conquer it again. These promises are the reward for military help given by the Commune of Genoa amounting to 18,000 Genoese pounds, as quoted in the diploma, a sum that will be reimbursed within three years (Enrico admitted in the same charter that he borrowed money from individuals).[64] It is interesting to notice that Enrico continued the Byzantine tradition by the annual gift of 1,000 hyperpera and *pallia*, reminiscent of the Byzantine *roga* and of the gifts made by the Byzantine emperors to Genoa as well as Pisa. Another Genoese pirate associated with Enrico Pescatore, Alamano da Costa, tried to establish himself on Crete in 1217; he did not succeed but remained active in Cretan waters until 1218.

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60 Hall-Cole, Kruger, Renert and Reynolds (eds), *Notai liguri*, vol. 5, nos. 1222, 1281, 1323, 1683.

61 Ibid., no. 1153. See also the contribution of Tassos Papacostas in this volume.

62 *Annali genovesi*, eds Belgrano and Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, vol. 2, pp. 109 and 114–15.

63 David Abulafia, 'Henry Count of Malta and his Mediterranean Activities: 1203–1230', in Anthony Luttrell (ed.), *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights* (London, 1975), pp. 104–25, reprinted in David Abulafia, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100–1400* (London, 1987).

64 Maria Bibolini (ed.), *I libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. I/6 (Genoa, 2000), no. 945, pp. 30–33.

In 1231, as a result of difficult relations with Frederick II, who tried to diminish the tax exemptions of the Genoese in the kingdom of Jerusalem, Genoa sent ambassadors to John Batatzes, 'emperor of Romania' (*imperator Romanie*), and to Michael Komnenos of Epiros.[65] The result of this embassy is unknown, but negotiations started again in 1239. It is clear that the Genoese tried to establish themselves in Romania, but nothing could be achieved without good relations with Venice. The treaty of 1218 between Genoa and Venice is renewed in 1228 and 1232; it says that consuls, viscounts and rectors of the Genoese are to be established in Constantinople, and the Genoese in the capital will have to swear to keep the treaty. This clause leads to the conclusion that perhaps a small Genoese community existed at that time.[66] And the Chronicle of Philippe Mouskès confirms this when it records Pisans, Genoese and Venetians helping John of Brienne to defend the city in 1236.[67] No other details of Genoese activities in Romania are available. With the exception of Enrico Pescatore and Alamano da Costa's adventures, the *Annali genovesi* essentially deal with Italian affairs for that period.

Genoese commercial contracts in relation to Romania or the former Byzantine Empire are rare for the period 1204–1261. We have quoted the early ones (of 1206 and 1210) above. Michel Balard has conducted an investigation of the notarial cartularies in the State Archives of Genoa, later completed by Enrico Basso and Sandra Origone.[68] The information is sometimes indirect, like the use of hyperpera in documents from 1234, 1239, 1240, or concerns only Negroponte (Euboia).[69] Sparse during the first half of the thirteenth century, Genoese activities in Romania, as they appear in the notarial cartularies, seem to take on a new impulse after the death of the emperor Frederick II, as shown by the 19 documents dating from August 1251, published by Balard. They record funds received as maritime exchange by Ansaldo Gattilusio and his sons to be paid back in gold hyperpera after the safe arrival in Romania of the *navis Damixela* carrying arms and soldiers to Romania. Ansaldo also collected horses to be transported in the same expedition.[70] The commercial partners are Genoese; there is no trace of business with Greeks or of long-standing activity, in contrast to the situation after the recapture of Constantinople by Michael Palaiologos in 1261.

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[65] *Annali genovesi*, eds Belgrano and Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, vol. 3, p. 57.

[66] Balard, 'Les Génois en Romanie', pp. 478–9.

[67] Philippe Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, ed. F.A.F.Th. de Reiffenberg, vol. 2 (Bruxelles, 1838), vv. 29238–43, p. 620.

[68] Balard, 'Les Génois en Romanie'; Origone, 'Genova, Costantinopoli e il regno di Gerusalemme'; Basso, 'Le relazioni fra Genova e gli Stati latini di Grecia'.

[69] Balard, 'Les Génois en Romanie', pp. 479–80.

[70] Ibid., pp. 490–99.

Conclusion

During the turbulence of the Fourth Crusade, the two Italian communities well established in the Byzantine capital who had developed relations with the imperial court disappear. However, the merchants of both Republics looked upon Romania, the former Byzantine Empire, as a territory for economic opportunities with whatever partner they could find, but not with the native Greek inhabitants to whom they might have been loyal. According to the surviving sources, it seems that their partners in trade at that time were not Greek. They stress the idea of political and economic space rather than individuals, displaying a striking difference with the period before 1204. In non-official documents, no reference to ethnicity or religion appears, and thus no difference between the Greek or Latin emperor of Constantinople is recorded. For the purposes of Byzantine prosopography, this poses many problems. It remains to be decided who should be considered as Byzantine; is a long-term inhabitant of Constantinople, with a Latin name, maybe born in Constantinople, a Byzantine? And what about the so-called 'second generation'? A more nuanced reading of all the available sources would certainly be worthwhile and might provide answers to these challenging questions.

Chapter 13

Tales of San Marco: Venetian Historiography and Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Prosopography*

Guillaume Saint-Guillain

Considering the role played by Venice during and after the Fourth Crusade, it is not surprising that Venetian sources are among the most important and abundant for the history and prosopography of the Byzantine world – Romania as it was called at the time – during the thirteenth century. That does not mean, however, that they are always easy to handle or will always answer the questions that are the most vital for the prosopographer: obviously Venetians are over-represented among the various groups active in the Aegean at the time. Moreover, although Venetian archives are rightly famous, the documentation remains rather scarce until the middle of the century, and with some exceptions official records do not really develop before its last decade.[1] Historiographic texts exhibit other difficulties: the very limited scope of my chapter is to present them and what they can and cannot offer to the history of individuals.

Prosopographers could be worried by the fact that Venetian historiography has been characterized as anti-individualistic, but in reality that would be to project Renaissance and later conceptions onto medieval texts. Venetian medieval chroniclers certainly had outstanding protagonists, both villains and heroes, and only lately did Venice herself became their leading heroine. Seemingly, there was never an institutionalized production of historical memory until the Renaissance.[2]

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* I would like to thank Judith Herrin for her patient editing of this paper and for the care she took to clarify my English.

[1] It was not possible to present here both historiographic and archival sources; for a presentation of the latter, see my forthcoming article on 'The Venetian Archival Documents and the Prosopography of the Thirteenth-century Byzantine World'.

[2] On medieval Venetian historiography in general, see Agostino Pertusi (ed.), *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi*, Civiltà veneziana. Saggi, 18 (Florence, 1970), particularly Antonio Carile, 'Aspetti della cronachistica veneziana nei secoli XIII e XIV', ibid., pp. 75–126; Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Civiltà veneziana. Studi, 25 (Florence, 1969); Girolamo Arnaldi and Lidia Capo, 'I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca Trevigiana', in Gianfranco Folena (ed.), *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 1, *Dalle origini*

It has been argued that the link between public power and the production of historical records has nevertheless always been an inherent characteristic of Venetian historiography from its very beginning, with the chronicle of John the Deacon (Giovanni Diacono) in the tenth/eleventh century. However, historical texts were extremely dissimilar in their form and sparse until the mid-fourteenth century, when in contrast they become discouragingly overabundant, analogous and related. So it is very difficult to speak of an early historiographic 'tradition' and of a state-controlled or at least state-centred historiography. The eleventh century is actually a vacuum. The twelfth-century texts, sometimes confused and of complex tradition, of which at least two were produced in episcopal or monastic circles, are the amphigoric and maybe farcical *Chronicon Altinate*,[3] the *Chronicon Gradense* (perhaps a fragment and scion of the former),[4] and the deceivingly dry *Annales Venetici breves*.

Things become more interesting in the period following the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins. The earliest, tentative effort to account for the changed environment consisted in simply updating existing historiographic material: the lists of rulers and prelates annexed to the *Chronicon Altinate* received some short additions relating to the fourth crusade and the following years. It was obviously just a transitional solution and only new independent works could deal with all the transformations of the thirteenth century. However, only three of those new historiographic works produced at that time in Venice survive. Furthermore, these chronicles are each known by a single manuscript and they are very dissimilar in literary terms: they are the anonymous *History of the Doges of the Venetians*

al Trecento (Vicenza, 1976), pp. 387–423, and ibid., vol. 2, *Il trecento* (Vicenza, 1976), pp. 272–337; Claudio Finzi, 'Scritti storico-politici', in Girolamo Arnaldi, Giorgio Cracco and Alberto Tenenti (eds), *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. 3, *La formazione dello stato patrizio* (Rome, 1997), pp. 825–64 (on fourteenth-century historiography). Brief general presentation in English by John Melville-Jones, 'Venetian History and Patrician Chroniclers', in Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin and Duane J. Osheim (eds), *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Philadelphia, PA, 2007), pp. 197–208; see also the review of Pertusi's and Carile's books by Frederic C. Lane, *Speculum*, 47 (1972): pp. 292–8. On the Venetian historiography and the twelfth-century Byzantine prosopography, see Michael Angold, 'The Venetian Chronicles and Archives as Sources for the History of Byzantium and the Crusades (992–1204)', in Mary Whitby (ed.), *Byzantine and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 59–94, here pp. 66–70.

[3] Gina Fasoli, 'I fondamenti della storiografia veneziana', in Pertusi (ed.), *La storiografia veneziana*, pp. 11–44, here p. 34, reprinted in Gina Fasoli, *Scritti di storia medievale* (Bologna, 1974), pp. 499–527, here p. 519, has defined the *Chronicon Altinate* as 'one of the more despairing, exasperating, repelling texts that one can come across' ('uno dei testi più disperanti, esasperanti, repellenti che si possano incontrare').

[4] Last edition, integrating the two texts (under a new title that has had little success among later scholars): *Origo civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum*, ed. R. Cessi (Turin, 1972).

(*Historia ducum Venetorum*), Martino da Canal's *Estoires de Venise*, and the *Chronicle* of Marco. The first two are the most important for our purpose.

Beyond the Fourth Crusade: The History of the Doges of the Venetians

The first of those three texts, the *Historia ducum Veneticorum* or, as it should be more accurately named according to its last editor, the *Historia ducum Venetorum*[5] ('History of the Doges of the Venetians'), is already a highly articulated text, structured by the succession of the doges: their reigns are not just a convenient but abstract frame for an unrelated narrative (as they would become in much later chronicles); they are indeed one of the subjects of interest to the anonymous author. His work covers almost exactly the first *siglo de oro* of the Venetian presence in the Byzantine world (1102–1229), without embarrassing itself at all with Venice's mythical and early past. This is already interesting considering the morbid obsession about that notion in earlier and later texts. Some commentators have considered the work to be unfinished or incomplete, since it stops somewhat abruptly with the death of Doge Pietro Ziani and lacks any conclusion, in sharp contrast with the short but rational prologue.[6] On the other hand, the strong emphasis on Ziani's reign makes it perfectly logical to end the story with his demise, and so the theory of the incompleteness is not really convincing.

The text is preserved in a single thirteenth-century manuscript, probably quite close to the date of its composition (in the Middle Ages, this manuscript became the property of the convent of the Crutched Friars, then passed into private hands until the nineteenth century). However, due to the loss of some folios, the period from July 1177 to July 1203 is unfortunately missing.[7] There is nevertheless absolutely

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5 Last edition: *Historia ducum Venetorum*, in Luigi Andrea Berto (ed.), *Testi storici veneziani (XI–XIII secolo)*, Medioevo europeo, 1 (Padoa, 1999), pp. 1–83 (see also the Introduction ibid., pp. IX–XXI). Previous scientific edition: *Historia ducum Veneticorum*, ed. H. Simonsfeld in *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores*, vol. 14 (Hanover, 1883) (reed. Leipzig, 1925), pp. 72–97. The text had been firstly published, in a largely unsatisfactory way, in *La cronaca veneta detta Altinate di autore anonimo in latino, preceduta da un commentario*, ed. A. Rossi (Florence, 1845), pp. 131–98.

6 This prologue has had some success in its own right: it will be plagiarized by Andrea Dandolo.

7 Biblioteca del Seminario patriarcale di Venezia, codex 951 (previously H.V.44 and before that B.III.10). The *Historia ducum* is at fols 35–45 and forms the quires V and VI of the codex (the original numeration of the quires in Roman numbers is still preserved: it was later rebound with some disorder, but the position of the *Historia* was not affected). The rest of the codex contains other historical texts, like the *Chronicon Altinate*, the *Chronicon Gradense*, some lists of bishops and rulers linked to them, etc. For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Henry Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien. I. Das Chronicon Altinate* (Munich, 1878), pp. 5–8. Some paragraphs of the missing section of the *Historia*, narrating the end of the reign of Doge Sebastiano Ziani (until April 1178), can be supplemented with

no codicological reason to believe that the text, which is all by the same hand in the manuscript, is not the work of a single author writing his continuous narration until 1229, and so no need to see its final part as a 'continuation'.[8] Consequently, the author was basing the beginning of his narrative on earlier sources and possibly on lost historical works, and this explains the selective character of reported events for the twelfth century. The most obvious conclusion would be that he was composing his work in the second third of the thirteenth century, most probably not long after Ziani's death, and so could have been a direct witness of the last part. However, although all those who have examined the text agree to attribute it to a single author, there are some divergences about the date at which he would have written,[9] since some important facts of Ziani's reign, known from other sources, are here curiously

the help of a nineteenth-century codex, itself related to the original *Historia* through at least three (and probably more) successive copies, which is far from being above suspicion (see Berto's edition, p. XVI).

8 Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003), p. 52, claims that the *Historia* 'ends with the Peace of Venice in 1177' and that 'thereafter we have to rely on a continuation of the chronicle known as "Giustiniani", which went down to the death of Pietro Ziani who died in 1229'; Angold, 'The Venetian Chronicles', p. 88, adds that 'the likelihood is that it was composed in two stages because the continuation is clearly distinguished from the main body of the chronicle'. Actually, the beginning and the end of the *Historia* come from one and the same – and only medieval – manuscript, which is not divided except by the lacuna of one or more folios: that is only the intermediate period 1178–1203 which, as we shall see, had to be supplemented by the first scientific editor using the *Venetiarum historia* (which, moreover, is not a continuation, and does not end with the death of Pietro Ziani). The same mistake in Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford, 2009), p. 72, who says that the *Historia*, which 'initially covered the reigns of the Doges prior to Enrico Dandolo, acquired a supplement to 1229 in the so-called *Giustiniani chronicle*, which included an account of the events from 1201 to 1204'; she refers to Simonsfeld's edition and its 'Supplementum ex Chronico quod vocant Iustiniani' at pp. 89–97. However, the 'Supplementum' is only at pp. 89–94, at which point, denoted by a line, the editor reverts to the manuscript of the *Historia* itself.

9 Roberto Cessi even suggested that the text could have been a kind of elaborate literary pastiche of outdated historical style, produced as late as the fourteenth century (he acknowledges the plagiarisms of the *Historia ducum* in the *Chronica extensa* of Doge Andrea Dandolo, but hypotheses that it would work conversely from Dandolo to the *Historia ducum*): see *Venetiarum historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. R. Cessi and F. Bennato, Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie. Monumenti storici, Nuova serie, 18 (Venise, 1964), pp. XXV–XXVI, n. 21. However, that opinion, which would make the *Historia* a hoax, would not be consistent with the dating of the manuscript to the thirteenth century, and has been rejected by the last editor. Between other codicological arguments, a list of the emperors in what was originally the twelfth quire of the codex also containing the *Historia ducum* begins with Julius Caesar and ends with Baldwin II, crowned in 1240: *Origo*, ed. Cessi, p. 119. It strongly suggests that the manuscript be dated to the second or third decade following Pietro Ziani's death.

absent.[10] For what it is worth, the author himself in his prologue claims to have used as sources the tales of the elders, his own memory of the contemporary events (which would mean he was indeed contemporary with at least the last of them), and his reading of ancient annals.[11] But that could just be a topos of historical literature.

Unfortunately, the lacuna in the manuscript of the *Historia ducum* means that the vital quarter of a century preceding the Fourth Crusade and the first stages of the crusade itself are missing (the narration reopens only with the escape of Alexios III and the coronation of Alexios IV). For lack of something better, the first nineteenth-century editor, Henry Simonsfeld, filled the gap using a later, fourteenth-century chronicle, the *Venetiarum historia*, which indeed profusely plagiarizes the earlier *Historia ducum*, but also other chronicles. The author, moreover, adds material of his own, so that it is impossible to be sure that everything comes directly from the lost section of the *Historia ducum*.[12] Comparison with other sections for which we still have both versions does not support such an approach.[13] That is why the last editor of the *Historia*, Luigi Andrea Berto, prudently preferred to insert a short abstract of the missing episodes for 1178–1203 rather than to supplement the text with a late and probably partly spurious rephrasing. However, even if it is for the most part lost, that section of the text did exist and contained one of the two first undoubtedly – although partly indirectly – attested narratives of the Fourth Crusade written from a Venetian point of view.[14]

Otherwise, there is little of immediate interest in the *Historia ducum* for prosopography: it mentions over 150 individuals, but more than two-thirds of them

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10 One must note, however, that one or two perplexing omissions of the same kind can also be found in the *Estoires* of Martino da Canal.

11 *Historia ducum*, §1, ed. Berto, p. 2: 'Ex his namque que scribimus quedam narrantius maioribus didicimus, que eciam hodie in re ipsa cernuntur, quedam vero nostro tempore vidimus conpleta, quedam quoque ex lectione annalium nobis innotuerunt.'

12 On the *Venetiarum historia* formerly attributed wrongly to Pietro Giustinian, we shall return briefly below.

13 For example, compare *Venetiarum historia*, ed. Cessi and Bennato, pp. 138–41, with *Historia ducum*, ed. Betto, pp. 70–72: without speaking of the notable differences in the wording, the author of the *Venetiarum historia* has inserted in the text of the thirteenth-century *Historia ducum* the whole text of the agreement of March 1204 between the Venetians and the crusaders. After turning back to some words of the *Historia*, he has inserted a wrong date for the capture of Constantinople (March 1204 rather than 12 April: he was obviously deducing the date from the convention he had quoted above). Then he abandons the *Historia* and turns to another source.

14 Martino da Canal is not the first Venetian chronicler to have related the crusade, as is sometimes assumed. Probably between 1212 and 1216, a narrative of it had already been appended to the imperial list in a manuscript of the *Chronicon Altinate*: see *Origo*, ed. Cessi, pp. 116–18. Another later, shorter and blundered narrative is inserted in the list of the doges in the same codex which preserves the *Historia ducum*: ibid., p. 121. On the latter codex see also above note 9.

are witnesses of an act of 1177 inserted in the *Historia*.[15] It can nevertheless be useful for a prosopographical approach because indirectly it helps us to understand the Venetian perception of the context of the first decades following the crusade.

Celebration in a Time of Doubts: Martino da Canal

Between 1267 and 1275, Martino da Canal wrote in French his *Estoires de Venise* ('Histories of Venice').[16] Despite its limited circulation,[17] this text is probably the most important of thirteenth-century Venetian historiography and certainly the most interesting prosopographically. Da Canal's own identity has been the subject of many speculations relating to his social position and his choice of French rather than Latin as the language of his book. He has been presented – concurrently or conflictingly – as a product of the nascent Venetian non-noble bureaucracy (a notary perhaps)[18] devoted to the cult of the state, as a scion of a (remotely hypothetical) rising bourgeoisie, as a native of the city of Chioggia, and as a Venetian established in Cyprus, in Acre or in another territory of the French-speaking Latin East. His plebeian baptismal name, his title of 'Master', and his praise of aristocracy prove at least that he did not himself belong to aristocratic circles. In 1275 he may perhaps have been a scribe at the Table of the Sea (*Tavola da mar*, a Venetian custom-house for imports taxation), but no more can be known about his professional career. He himself explains the choice of the French: 'French language is spread throughout the world, and is more enjoyable to read and to hear than any other one' ('lengue franceise cort parmi le monde et est la plus delitable a lire et a oïr que nule autre'). In other words, French was fashionable at the time and, crucially, the international language of the emerging vernacular literature. *Langue d'oc* had played a similar role for lyric poetry, as may be illustrated by a contemporary of Martino, Bartolomeo Zorzi († *c.*1275), whose eventful life was also closely tied to Romania: he traded there and was captured in the Northern Aegean – certainly in 1266 – by a Genoese corsair; later he served as castellan of Coron and Modon,

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15 Moreover, this is part of the section for the years 1177–78 which is of uncertain authenticity (see above, note 7).

16 Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, ed. A. Limentani, Civiltà veneziana. Fonti e testi, 12 (Florence, 1973).

17 There is only one manuscript, not even kept in Venice but in Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana, *Codex Riccardiano* 1919. It is posterior to the original redaction by no more than some decades.

18 Although at the time Venetian notaries were generally priests – something Martino was not –, there were exceptions, mostly imperial notaries employed in particular by the public administration.

fell in love with a local lady, and died there in office);[19] Zorzi thus represents the Venetian ability to adopt Provençal for his poems while holding responsibilities in the Commune's overseas territories where both Greek and Italian were more often used. But, already a bit outdated at that time, *Langue d'oc* would certainly not have been a fashionable option for Martino da Canal's prose writing, particularly for a historical work. So the choice of French implies that he expected a lay, socially distinguished and possibly international audience for his *Estoires*. Similarly, some decades later, the Pisan Rustichello would use French to put into writing the earliest version of the *Divisament dou monde*, dictated by another Venetian, Marco Polo.

The narration of the *Estoires de Venise* goes from the mythical origins of the city to September 1275, when it stops abruptly. It is divided into two parts, each with its own prologue: the first extends from the beginning to 1259, the second from 1259 to the end. The chronologically asymmetrical presentation of the material is of course a reflection of the sources used by Martino, who presents himself as a translator rather than an author.[20] Indeed, he made use of Latin chronicles for the legendary origins and the first centuries of Venice, notably of the *Chronicon Altinate* and the *Annales Venetici breves*. Da Canal also alludes to official documents, to which he may have had access in the Venetian chancery through his job, and even inserts

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[19] Eighteen of his poems have been preserved, but information on Bartolomeo Zorzi comes mostly from his fourteenth-century Life (*Vida*) in Provençal. 'A nobleman, merchant from Venice', he was seized with other Venetian traders during a business trip in Romania (this has been identified with an incident of October 1266 recorded both by Martino da Canal and the Genoese annals, when 108 Venetians, of whom 42 nobles, were captured with their ship *in partibus Cytri* – which is Kitros on the Thermaic Gulf rather than the island of Kythera). Bartolomeo remained a prisoner in Genoa for several years – about seven years according to one of the two versions of the *Vida* – and was ultimately liberated with other captives after the two communes had made peace. He went back to Venice and was appointed – probably almost immediately – as castellan of Coron and Modon, 'a rich place in Romania' ('un ric loc de Romania'). There he fell in love with 'a noble lady of that country' and died. For his *Vida*, see: *Biographies des troubadours*, eds J. Boutière and A.H. Schutz, 2nd edn (Paris, 1964), pp. 576–80, nr. C; English translation: *The Vidas of the Troubadours*, transl. M. Egan (New York–London, 1984), pp. 15–17, nr. 15. See also *Poesie provenzali storiche relative all'Italia*, ed. V. De Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1931), vol. 1, pp. LXXXVI–LXXXVII, and ibid., vol. 2, pp. 241–4, 260–63 and 270–74 (historical notes to three of Bartolomeo's poems); Gianfranco Folena, 'Tradizione e cultura trobadorica nelle corti e nelle città venete', in Folena (ed.), *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 1, pp. 453–562, here pp. 537–60, reprinted in Gianfranco Folena, *Culture e lingue nel Veneto medievale* (Padoa, 1990), pp. 1–137, here pp. 106–34; and lastly Claudia Serra, 'Nuove *ricerche storiche sul trovatore Bartolomeo* Zorzi. Parte I: Venezia', *Quaderni di filologia romanza della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Bologna*, 8 (1991): pp. 105–44 (also useful on other members of the Zorzi family). For the time of Bartolomeo's death see below, note 73.

[20] Martino da Canal, *Les estoires*, I,1, ed. Limentani, p. 2: 'je Martin da Canal sui entremis de translater de latin en franceis les henorees victoires que ont eües les Veneciens au servise de sainte Yglise et au servise de sa noble cité'.

the full texts of two, in their French translations: the *Pactum Warmundi* of 1125 and the *Partitio Romanie* of 1204.[21] This innovation[22] was to remain a feature of later Venetian chronicles, which often include documents, inserted in the course of the narrative or as more or less autonomous appendices. Strangely, for the Fourth Crusade – a critical episode in his story – and the period immediately following, it is more difficult to spot specific narrative sources of the *Estoires*. It is not impossible that Martino had access to Geoffrey of Villehardouin (a manuscript of whose text most probably existed in Venice in the fourteenth century,[23] and possibly earlier), or at least to a simplified and distorted account ultimately depending on Villehardouin. Quite surprisingly, he seems not to have been aware of the *Historia ducum*, and other thirteenth-century historiographic sources he may have used may simply have been lost. In any case, his version of the sensitive episode of the crusade is seriously rewritten to conform to Venetian ideology.[24]

Martino is a strong admirer of Venetian political order, and he applied the thirteenth-century epic–chivalrous tone induced by the use of French to recount the deeds of contemporary Venetian nobles: he mentions many, but his chief hero is a doge, Giacomo Tiepolo, as another doge, Pietro Ziani, had been the hero of the author of the *Historia ducum*. The focal point of the *Estoires* is always the city of Venice, whose beauty and excellence are exalted and whose official ceremonies are devotedly detailed. However, the role played by Romania in Martino's narrative is crucial, since he is writing only some years after the fall of Latin Constantinople to the Greeks of Nicaea in 1261, when Venice confronts the rivalry of Genoa and her future seems linked to her capacity to restore the old regime in the Aegean (as defined by the *Partitio* of 1204), putting the Courtenays back on their throne in Constantinople, or alternatively by finding an agreement with the Palaiologoi and the refurbished Byzantine Empire.

Excluding saints, biblical characters and people designated collectively, like 'those of Bologna' (*ciaus de Boiloigne*), the *Estoires* mention more than 400 individuals, by their names or, more rarely, only by their titles. Most are Venetians who lived during the thirteenth century. But since Martino is much preoccupied by the dramatic expansion of his commune in the Mediterranean, his narrative contains

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21 It is worth mentioning that in the *Estoires* the text of the *Partitio* is by a different hand from the one who wrote the preceding and following text, and is partly a palimpsest and partly on an additional folio.

22 The *Historia ducum* perhaps already contained an inserted document of 1177; however, it is in a section of the text known only by a much later manuscript, and so there is some serious suspicion that it can be a later interpolation: see above, notes 7 and 15.

23 See below.

24 The most obvious distortion is probably the purported pontifical investiture received by Doge Enrico Dandolo in 1204 and the papal sanction of the *Partitio*. These two historical falsifications (most likely inherited by Martino rather than invented by him) reveal the need for the legitimization of Venetian domination in Romania in the decades following the crusade.

also useful data on non-Venetians, both Greeks and Latins, active in Romania: pre-eminent figures like the emperors Theodore I Laskaris, John III Batatzes, Michael VIII Palaiologos (always mentioned under their family names, hence as *Liascars*, *Vatas* and *Palialog* respectively) and Baldwin II, or the count Alamanno da Costa, Genoese opponent of the Venetian conquest of Crete, but also more minor individuals such as the Cretan rebel George Chortatzes (*Jorge Curtas*). Greek names could present difficulties for the Venetian copyists; for example, the name of the Greek general who took Constantinople in 1261 (Alexios Strategopoulos) is left in blank in the manuscript: 'A Greek, who is named ..., with a great troop of Greeks' (*un Gres, que l'en apele ..., a grant compagnie de Gres*).[25] Most data, however, relates as can be expected to the Venetians in Romania.

From the point of view of the broad Venetian historiographic tradition, the *Estoires* are also significant because they were used and partly incorporated by later chroniclers: even the mysterious Marco (to whom we shall turn now), at the end of the thirteenth century, translated part of his information from 'old and new histories ... written in the French language' (*veteres ac recentes ystorie ... sermone Gallico scripte*), obviously referring to Da Canal. More importantly, in the middle of the fourteenth century Andrea Dandolo used the *Estoires* copiously to supplement his account of the thirteenth century and, through his *Chronica extensa*, bits and pieces of Martino's narrative passed into later works and ultimately in the standard narrative of Venetian history, despite its own survival in a single manuscript.

Looking for a New Form: The *Chronicle of Marco*

The author of the so-called *Chronicle of Marco*[26] is known only by his first name, despairingly banal for a Venetian.[27] Around 1292, he began to write a text whose

[25] However, in that section of the manuscript that fate is not reserved to Greek people: see Martino da Canal, *Les estoires*, ed. A. Limentani, pp. XI and 319, §CXLVI, where the names of two or three 'nobles veneciens, que l'en apele ...' are also left blank. Although the manuscript is not an autograph, the editor suggests that part of it could have been realized under the supervision of the author, who could have left some blanks in the hope of finding the information later. That does not seem to be the case for Strategopoulos, however.

[26] See primarily Elisa Paladin, 'Osservazioni sulla inedita cronaca veneziana di Marco (sec. XIII ex.–XIV in.)', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti*, 128 (1969–70): pp. 429–61. There is no complete edition, but extracts have been published here and there, notably by Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, pp. 163–8, Carile, 'Aspetti della cronachistica', Appendix at pp. 121–6, and Limentani in his edition of Martino da Canal, *Les estoires*, pp. CCCIX–CCCXVII.

[27] Giorgio Cracco, 'Tra Marco e Marco: un cronista veneziano dietro al canto XVI del *Purgatorio*?', in Maria Chiara Billanovich, Giorgio Cracco and Antonio Rigon (eds), *Viridarum floridum. Studi di storia veneta offerti dagli allievi a Paolo Sambin*, Medioevo e umanesino, 54 (Padoa, 1984), pp. 3–23, tries unconvincingly to identify him with a mysterious Marco Lombardo mentioned by Dante in the sixteenth canto of the *Purgatory*.

last events relate to the year 1268, although mentions of later events up to 1304 pop up in other sections of the manuscript. As it is preserved, in a very late and faulty copy,[28] it is a curious farrago associating historical data – not always in chronological order – with fragments relating to completely other interests. The work is divided into three books, but the narrative structure – if there is any – is rather puzzling. All of the first book is devoted entirely to sacred and ancient history, linked to the mythical origins of Venice and to her early development, for which most of the information is taken from the *Chronicon Altinate*. For the second book, after some other excerpts of sacred and Roman history, Marco relies in contrast mostly on Martino da Canal, whose accounts he tries to dilute inside an embryonic universal history: many of the chronological notices of that book, which are numbered, look like short summaries of a longer narrative that Marco did not bother to copy integrally. The third book is much less historical than prophetical:[29] it is a collection of notices on extraordinary facts and exotic oddities, without apparent internal logic or chronology. Some of them are just interpolations of other texts, for example a pamphlet on the Antichrist or a famous poem on the baths at Pozzuoli.

Obviously, there is not much food here for Byzantine prosopography, notably because Marco is working mostly by synthesizing and abbreviating – not without damaging consequences – previous works still extant. A good example is the narrative of the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, which would provide attractive elements for a mock prosopography of the Byzantine world:[30] there is actually no crusade, just Philip of Swabia and his Byzantine wife – here going by the very eccentric name of Agamenona[31] – asking the doge to help her brother Alexios the Younger to recover his lost throne. The doge accepts, on the advice of some 'counts', not identified more precisely, who are not able to pay for some of the journey, of which nothing is said. Alexios is crowned in Constantinople, but turns against his benefactors, and is deposed by some Murcicus (i.e. Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos). The doge and the counts then take Constantinople and rule the land. Marco's abbreviation method has completely changed the sense of the episode, while maintaining the Venetian ideological interpretation of the conquest (Romania has been justly acquired by the Latins). The chapter (at fols 71r–v), titled 'When Alexius was appointed to the Empire by the Doge of Venice' ('Quando Alexius

28 Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Codex Ital. XI, 124 (6802). This single, composite manuscript is dated 1503.

29 It has been suggested that this fantasy third book is not by Marco but a later addition, perhaps by the 1503 copyist. In any case, even there one can find historical material, in raw form – such as the text of the agreement of March 1204 between the crusaders and the Venetians, integrally copied at fols 106r–107v – or already summarized and reworked, like the purported 'purchase' of Crete by the Venetians at fol. 111v (with the wrong date of 1200).

30 Reproduced in A. Limentani's edition of Martino da Canal, p. CCCXII. See also Paladin, 'Osservazioni sulla inedita cronaca', pp. 448–9.

31 As is well known, in real life her name was Irene.

positus fuit imperio per ducem Veneciarum'), is unexpectedly inserted between one relating to the expulsion of the Venetians by Manuel I Komnenos in 1172, and another dated 1177 about the quarrel between Frederick Barbarossa and the pope. There is a loose logical connection with the chapter devoted to the events of 1172, but no indication to the reader that this is just a proleptic digression that transports him thirty years later![32] Interestingly, this travesty seems unrelated to Martino da Canal's version of the episode, which is also wrong and ideologically distorted, but in different ways: for example, Martino makes Mourtzouphlos already emperor before the first capture of Constantinople, confusing him with Alexios III, while Marco keeps both individuals distinct. Similarly, Martino's most famous distortion is to present the conquest of Constantinople as made with the blessing and almost on the order of Innocent III,[33] when Marco simply makes no mention at all of any papal involvement.

As it is preserved, Marco's strange *Chronicle* is perhaps no more than a partial collection of preparatory material for the redaction of a more ambitious work, following the model of 'universal chronicles' that was developed by mendicant historiography during the thirteenth century. The attempt obviously failed, or its result has been lost. However, as abortive and feeble as it is, by its universalist ambition and its groping efforts of synthesis this chronicle heralds Andrea Dandolo's work, which would become the foundation of later Venetian chronicles in the next century. But before turning to Dandolo and to the late medieval Venetian historiography, we must consider the case of an author who, although Venetian, is rather uncharacteristic of that tradition. With him, we are entering into the fourteenth century, when some of the chronicles produced at that time still preserve firsthand and useful material for the thirteenth-century prosopography: they may be ultimately even more useful than more contemporary texts.

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32 The conquest of Constantinople is, however, mentioned again a bit later, (almost) at its correct chronological place, but much more briefly, as if from another source. See Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ital. XI, 124 (6802), fol. 73r, chap. LXXV (titled 'Ducante Henricho Dandulo capta fuit quarta pars et dimidia imperii Romanie'): 'Curente anno domini M°CC°III° [*sic*!] Venetici Constantinopolim invasserunt civitatem totum dominio subiugantes et cum eodem domino Henrico Dandulo duce obtinuerunt quartam partem et dimidiam tocius imperii Romanie.' This dry mention is preceded by the casual note addressed to those who would want to know a bit more details on the topic that they just have to look a few folios back! ('Qui scire cupit qualiter remansit de itinere terre Sancte iveniet recto hic prope in quarta carta in capitulo qui incipit *Post mortem Manuelis* ....')

33 See above, note 24.

A History of the Late Thirteenth-Century Byzantine World: The *Istoria di Romania* of Marino Sanudo

Marino Sanudo Torsello (*c.*1270–1343) is primarily remembered as a strenuous fourteenth-century propagandist of the crusades.[34] His most famous work, the *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis* ('Book of the secrets of the faithful of the Cross'),[35] which he presented successively to the pope and to various princes, is primarily a crusade project, although it also contains historical elements concerning the Latin states in the Near East and even Romania, but for the most part these are taken from thirteenth-century sources, notably the vernacular continuations of the *History* of William of Tyre known collectively under the title of *Estoire d'Éracles*.[36] But in some cases Sanudo has completed the information from other sources, sometimes otherwise unknown, and from his own original analysis, as for example when he explains the failure of the projected alliance between the Latins of Constantinople and the Bulgarians against Batatzes in 1230. Although more recent research has shown that some of its ideas were not so new as had been previously assumed, the *Liber secretorum*, which was published as early as the seventeenth century, is still famous and its author praised for his investigative evaluation of the resources and military forces of the various Mediterranean powers and of the broad economic mechanisms of the Levant trade, and also for his groundbreaking awareness of geography.[37]

For us a less famous work of Sanudo, the *Istoria di Romania*, is more important, however. Its sections were written at different dates from 1328 to 1337 and revised until the author's death; after a century and some decades of oblivion the work seems to have attracted some interest at the very end of the Middle Ages, when it

34 Still fundamental is Arturo Magnocavallo, *Marin Sanudo il vecchio e il suo progetto di crociata* (Bergamo, 1911). Among more recent publications see: David Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens et Romanie (1305–1332). Un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 15 (1974): pp. 217–61, reprinted in David Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle: peuples, sociétés, économies*, Variorum Collected Studies, 105 (London, 1979), article V; Christopher J. Tyerman, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 32 (1982): pp. 57–73; Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, The West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991), particularly pp. 200–218; Eutychia Papadopoulou, 'À propos de l'*Istoria* de Marin Sanudo Torsello', *Σύμμεικτα* [*του Κέντρου Βυζαντινών Ερευνών*], 10 (1996): pp. 195–233.

35 The only edition is the one printed by Bongars in 1611 in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*, and which has been reprinted as: Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione* ... (Toronto, 1972).

36 On the depressingly complex tradition of those texts, important for the history of the Latin Empire, see Margaret R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of Willam of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973).

37 The maps illustrating the *Liber secretorum* are famous in their own right.

was translated into Italian; then it was completely forgotten and was rediscovered only in the nineteenth century by Karl Hopf, a German scholar and one of the first historians of the Latin Greece, who published it in 1873.[38] Sanudo was of course aware of the pre-existing Venetian historiography,[39] and also of more international historiographic fashions of the time: he quotes Vincent of Beauvais and was in relation with the Franciscan fra Paolino da Venezia, bishop of Pozzuoli, whose three universal chronicles formed an accomplished example of universal history based on extensive compilation, a genre developed by mendicant authors. However, Sanudo's own historical work is less ambitious and has a different goal. Together with the *Chronicle of Morea*, it is probably the only example of a western historiographic work written from the point of view of the Byzantine world. Moreover, in contrast to the *Chronicle of Morea*, its intended focus is not a specific region of the Aegean but the whole of Romania. That radical choice is completely at odds with the broad Venetian historiographical tradition, whose trend is to put the city at the centre of its narration. It may perhaps be associated with an early fourteenth-century fashion, originating mostly in the Venetian chancery, for a kind of monographic history treating a specific event or subject.[40] However, those works, chronologically restrained, are still centred on Venice, while the *Istoria*, which treats a broader period, is not. Its uncommon focus on the Byzantine world can explain the total lack of success of the work, which does not even survive in its original state; another reason could be that the *Istoria* was perhaps unfinished when Marino died.[41]

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[38] Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria del regno di Romania*, ed. Ch. Hopf in *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin 1873), pp. 99–170. There is now a new edition with notes and Greek translation: Marin Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria di Romania*, ed. E. Papadopoulou, Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Πηγής, 4 (Athens, 2000). The appropriation of the *Istoria* by Hopf was not appreciated by all in Venice at the time since on an off-print (later bound with Sanudo's manuscript) of the first article in which he heralded his discovery, a pen-written apostil asserts: 'La scoperta è dalla Biblioteca di S. Marco, i cui diligenti cataloghi l'hanno additata all'editore di questo opuscolo.' Actually, however, none before Hopf had realized the importance of the manuscript that the Marcian librarians had inadvertently pronounced a late forgery.

[39] See his allusion to the mythic origins of the Venetians: Marino Sanudo, *Istoria*, ed. Papadopoulou, p. 171.

[40] On the short-lived monographic vogue in Venetian historiography, see Marino Zabbia, *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento*, Nuovi studi storici, 49 (Rome, 1999), pp. 189–228.

[41] As we read it, it does indeed seem incomplete. This could be the result of its very poor tradition, but it has also been pointed out that Marino does not explicitly record it in his testament, where other books he wrote or possessed are mentioned. However, that may be simply because it was not one of his books 'which deal with the affairs of the Holy Land' (*qui tractant de negociis Terre Sancte*) and which he wanted to hand down to the Roman curia. With its stock of private anecdotes, this one was perhaps to stay in the family.

The *Istoria* was indeed originally written in Latin, but today it is only preserved in an eighteenth-century manuscript containing a copy of a late medieval- or early modern Italian translation.[42] Although both translation and copy are sometimes unhappily worded and difficult to understand,[43] this is largely compensated by the exceptional quality of the information. Sanudo used good written sources: he possessed and read history books. Concerning more specifically the Byzantine area, we know he had access to *La conquête de Constantinople* of Villehardouin, for which he wrote a short appendix supposed to complement it, devoted to the last period of the Latin Empire (until 1261),[44] and he certainly had knowledge of an archetype of the *Chronicle of Morea* (however, not exactly in any of the forms in which that work has reached us, which are later than Sanudo's own work[45]). Notwithstanding, the *Istoria* is a work of contemporary history and actually it begins almost *in medias res*, without any kind of prologue and with only a very short glimpse at the first half of the thirteenth century: its chief topic is the second half of the century, mostly in the Aegean but from a Mediterranean perspective (the two first parts and two-thirds of the third part are centred on Romania, while the rest of the third and the fourth parts give more place to Italy and the Western Mediterranean). However, although the structure of the work is roughly chronological, it is in no way systematic.

[42] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Codex Ital. VII, 712 (8754), fols 1r–25r. The manuscript also contains the Italian version of the *Chronicle of Morea*.

[43] A century after Hopf, Father Raymond-Joseph Loenertz was one of the first to devote some attention to the language and wording of the *Istoria* and to the misinterpretations it had provoked for previous scholars: see in particular Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207–1390*, Civiltà Veneziana. Studi, 26 (Florence, 1975), and Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, 'Pour une édition nouvelle de l'*Istoria del Regno di Romania* de Marin Sanudo l'Ancien', *Studi veneziani*, 1st series, 16 (1974): pp. 33–66. For references to other studies, see the commentary and annotation to E. Papadopoulou's edition.

[44] See Robert L. Wolff, 'Hopf's So-Called "Fragmentum" of Marino Sanudo Torsello', in *The Joshua Starr Memorial* (New York, 1953), pp. 149–59, reprinted in Robert L. Wolff, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, Variorum Collected Studies, 55 (London, 1976), article X. Part of the *Fragmentum*'s material was also inserted by Sanudo in the *Istoria* under a slightly different form.

[45] In its present form, the text of the *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée*, the extant French version of the *Chronicle of Morea* and the earliest version preserved, is younger than the *Istoria* by at least some years and perhaps more (I am not convinced by Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp. 43–7 and 88–92, who suggests a redaction of the prototype of the manuscript of the *Livre de la conqueste* before March 1337 rather than after July 1341, as it is generally agreed: her hypothesis postulates a redating of the death of Duke Nicolò Sanudo that is both arbitrary and disproved by contemporary evidence). That would explain why, although there are parallels between Sanudo and the *Chronicle of Morea*, his presentation of common events is somewhat different: Sanudo probably had access to one of the lost ancestors or sources of the preserved versions of the *Chronicle*.

Furthermore, Sanudo seems to have reused written pieces from his own letters and from other works.

On the period he considers, Sanudo had firsthand information: as he likes to recall himself, he spent a notable part of his life in Romania and was related by blood to the Sanudo, dukes of the Archipelago, one of the most pre-eminent lineages of Latin Romania. Although that relationship was not a very close one genealogically speaking (the common ancestor lived most probably in the twelfth century) and was not always without its tensions (Sanudo first came to the East to claim a debt his father had against the duke, which was still pendant decades later), it was a subject of pride for the historian, who complaisantly unrolls the genealogical chart of the dukes in the very first paragraphs of his work.[46] Through his cousins' matrimonial and social network, he met many secondary actors of Latin Romania and used their testimony profusely in the *Istoria*.[47] He mentions more than 200 individuals, for the most part related to the Aegean.

His direct use of oral testimonies creates a surprisingly vivid narrative compared to other Venetian chronicles, with some incomparable titbits of personal memories of lives (and deaths). Such are the unlucky end of the father of Marcazzo Gradenigo, who was killed in a very unusual way during the siege of Oreos in Euboia *c.*1258,[48]

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[46] The fact that such a distant blood relationship can have been experienced as a very actual one is typical of Venetian family structures and of their emphasis on male-line descent, real or assumed, demonstrated by the use of a common surname and coat of arms. Inside the *cà* ('house'), individuation of the different lineages was sometimes expressed by heraldic differentiation (in some cases similar to the cadency system of northern Europe), and by the use of hereditary nicknames (such as 'Torsello', which was not proper to Marino Sanudo but to his line). Bearers of the same surname inside the patriciate generally assumed they were related in some way to each other (and were assumed to be so for various legal purposes), but they were not always able to tell how. The dormant or hypothetical relation could be (re)actualized at any time when needed, for example as a business tool. A later but famous example is the case of Andrea Barbarigo, a fifteenth-century Venetian merchant who restored his damaged family's fortune with the help of opportunely rediscovered Cretan relatives: Frederic C. Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418–1449* (Baltimore, MD, 1944). For our period see David Jacoby, 'Migrations familiales et stratégies commerciales vénitiennes aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles', in Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (eds), *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes*, Byzantina Sorbonensia, 19 (Paris, 2002), pp. 355–73, reprinted in David Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th–15th centuries*, Variorum Collected Studies, 914 (Aldershot, 2009), article III.

[47] Among the most often quoted witnesses are, of course, the Sanudos themselves, chiefly Duke Marco II.

[48] He had been wounded, but not fatally, by a crossbow quarrel, and was taken away from the fight lying on his shield, when a big stone projectile was thrown from the besieged castle. Those who were carrying the shield, hearing the cry, 'Attention, attention!' (*guarda, guarda!*), put their burden down and quickly escaped. Regrettably, the stone projectile crashed right onto poor Gradenigo senior, who, this time, was properly killed.

or the aristocratic arrogance of Filippo Ghisi, who had usurped the lordship of the island of Skopelos in the 1250s and whom Sanudo personally knew:

> This messer Filippo was a handsome man and eloquent, but he praised himself much and was used to repeat that verse of Ovid: *Maior sum, cum non possit fortuna nocere* ['I am too great to be harmed by fortune']. And nevertheless he was sent into captivity in Constantinople: he stayed there in a long captivity, and his wife died miserably on a mat.[49]

That is a good example of Sanudo's art of constructing a concise portrait from just one anecdote: the quotation of Ovid produces a vivid counterpoint with the ultimate fall of the proud Filippo.[50]

The Doge-Chronicler and the Accomplished Chronicle: Andrea Dandolo

There are one or two similarities between Marino Sanudo and Andrea Dandolo (1306–1354): both were highly born Venetian patricians, both had connections with the Aegean and specifically with the Cyclades, both were aware of mendicant historiography. Moreover, Dandolo knew Sanudo's *Istoria* and even made some use of it. Nevertheless their works are completely different; and while Sanudo was at the periphery of Venetian historiography, Dandolo was at its centre and would reveal a decisive step in its development.[51]

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49 Marino Sanudo, *Istoria*, ed. Papadopoulou, p. 137: 'El qual miser Filippo era bel uomo e eloquente, ma si attribuiva molto e solea dir spesso quell verso d'Ovidio: *Maior sum, cum non possit fortuna nocere*. Nondimeno fu condotto prigion a Costantinopoli, ove stette lungamente prigion e la moglie sua morì in questa ivi miserabilmente sopra una stuora.' Some lines below, the historian recalls that Filippo claimed to be a relative of his cousins of the Archipelago, and he quotes him as a witness on another occasion. On Filippo, his family and on what Sanudo says of him, see Loenertz, *Les Ghisi*, particularly pp. 46–50.

50 The quotation is slightly incorrect in the manuscript, which I have cited directly here (the last editor confusingly opts for a mix between the version of the manuscript and the genuine text of the Roman poet). See Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, VI,195: *Maior sum quam cui posit fortuna nocere*. In his *Edward II*, Christopher Marlowe put the same sentence in the mouth of the Young Mortimer, who would have been equally wrong.

51 On Andrea Dandolo, see Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Andrea Dandolo doge-cronista', in Pertusi (ed.), *La storiografia veneziana*, pp. 127–268; Arnaldi and Capo, 'I cronisti di Venezia' [2nd part], pp. 288–9; Lino Lazzarini, '*Dux ille Danduleus*. Andrea Dandolo e la cultura veneziana a metà del Trecento', in Giorgio Padoan (ed.), *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, Civiltà veneziana. Saggi, 21 (Florence, 1976), pp. 123–56; Girolamo Arnaldi, 'La cancelleria ducale fra culto della *legalitas* e nuova cultura umanistica', in Arnaldi, Cracco and Tenenti (eds), *Storia di Venezia*, vol. 3, pp. 865–87; Zabbia, *I notai e la cronachistica*, pp. 229–44; Debra Pincus, 'Hard Times and Ducal Radiance: Andrea Dandolo and the Construction of the Ruler in Fourteenth-Century Venice', in John Martin and Dennis

Dandolo was not just any old patrician: in 1328, at a very early age, he became a procurator of San Marco, the highest dignity of the Venetian commune after the ducal one. Fifteen years later in 1343, he was elected doge and ruled Venice in a difficult period that encompassed the Black Death and the so-called War of the Straits with Genoa (1350–55), Hungarian ambitions on Dalmatia (a vital dependency for Venice), and the growing Turkish threat in the Aegean. In this context, the historiographic activity of the doge was only part of a larger ideological project designed to strengthen Venice's institutions and identity around the pivotal figure of the doge.

The historiographic project was probably conceived even before his accession, when Dandolo was procurator of San Marco and then produced his first work, the so-called *Chronica brevis* ('Short Chronicle'),[52] arranged by reigns of the doge and narrating the story of Venice from its origin up to 1342: it is not very original in form and content compared to previous Venetian chronicles. Actually, it was perhaps just an abridged rearrangement of the chronicle called *A Latina* in the classification of Antonio Carile.[53]

The *Chronica per extensum descripta* or *Chronica extensa* ('Extended chronicle' – indeed, it is fifteen times longer than the *Brevis*, although it is not an amplification of the latter), which Dandolo composed later, during his term as doge, was a very different work, ambitious and groundbreaking.[54] Written by the doge of Venice himself, it is both a synthesis of all the previous experiences and something completely new. In conformity with the author's political project, the history is sequenced according to the reigns of the doges;[55] however, Dandolo has incorporated into this first model the annalistic form typical of Italian communal historiography:[56] each reign is in turn divided by years, an event or a set of events

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Romano (eds), *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-state, 1297–1797* (Baltimore, MD–London, 2000), pp. 89–136.

52 Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica brevis*, ed. E. Pastorello in Appendix in Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello, Rerum Italicarum scriptores, nuova edizione, 12/1 (Bologna, 1938–58), pp. 349–73. It is only 23 pages in the printed edition.

53 This text is anonymous (although the manuscripts claim the doge Andrea Dandolo as its author!) and was probably composed between 1343 and 1350. It has been recently published: *Cronica 'A Latina'. Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, ed. Caterina Negri di Montenegro, Quaderni della Rivista di bizantinistica, 2 (Spoleto, 2004). The filiation from *A Latina* to the *Chronica brevis* would contradict the admitted dating of the latter to the period before the accession of the doge. However, *A Latina* could be older and may have been just completed during Dandolo's reign. The same happened to the *Chronica brevis* itself, whose earlier codices are later than 1343 and include additions.

54 Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. Pastorello.

55 For the first centuries (three first books of the *Chronica extensa*), before the institution of the dogate, episcopal years of the patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado are used.

56 This articulation of historical forms that are characteristic of the communal and monarchical historiographies respectively is, of course, related to the specific political

being associated to each year – however, those years are regnal years of the doges, not civil years, which posed chronological problems.[57] Furthermore, the work is also both a local and a universal chronicle: it centres on the history of Venice, but this is counterpointed by the incorporation of innumerable titbits of universal history, almost all taken from the writings of Paolino da Venezia (who himself borrowed most of them from the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais). In fact, Paolino's work serves as the base of the narrative: half of Dandolo's text is a plagiarizing or rewriting of it.

This highly complex form is also restrictive: the *Chronica extensa* cannot have the narrative fluidity of the *History of the Doges* and of the *Estoires*, and it is far more paratactic. It also bears the impact of the recycling of previously existing narrative material, which is forced into a strict time-sequential frame by attaching specific dates to events that sometimes had none in the sources, creating a chronological effect. Moreover, now and then Dandolo wanted to spell out logical connections between facts or was not able to sever those connections as they existed in his sources to reorder the facts in purely chronological order. In those cases, the narrative starts from an event that is in its supposed chronological place, and then enters into a digression that recounts other facts logically related but occurring sometimes much later. The chronological frame is so strong that it is not easy for the reader to perceive that diversion, particularly in the absence of the original sources. An example would be the conquest of the Cyclades by Marco Sanudo, nephew of Doge Enrico Dandolo and one of the Venetian crusaders of 1204, which the *Chronica extensa* mentions in a digression under the first year of Doge Pietro Ziani (5 August 1205–4 August 1206), although it did not occur in that year but at least six or seven years later. It is just connected logically to the general subject treated there, on which the chronicler probably had little more documentation than we have today.[58]

One of the interests of the chronicle of Dandolo is precisely the great quantity of sources that he used in its compilation. Those include extant or lost chronicles, genealogical and familial traditions (particularly of course from the Dandolos), and

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evolution of Venice in the fourteenth century and to Dandolo's conception of it.

57 Previous annalistic works in Venice like the *Annales Venetici breves* were organized by years according to the Christian era, not by years of reign. Moreover, years of reigns were not used in Venice at that time as a system of dating for documents: Dandolo had to convert dates actually given by his sources in the Christian era. When the source gave the full date, it was relatively easy (although a possible cause of error), but when the source gave for example only the year AD, without mention of the month, the chronicler had to guess in which part of the year it fell to find the corresponding year in his system. The conversion was absolutely impractical, but highly ideological.

58 Guillaume Saint-Guillain, 'Les conquérants de l'Archipel: l'empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades', in Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani and Peter Schreiner (eds), *Quarta crociata. Venezia, Bisanzio, Impero latino* (Venice, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 125–237, here pp. 139–48.

even hagiographical works, but more crucially archival documents. As the ruler of Venice, he probably had fuller access to the public archives than any other historian before or after him. In parallel with his historical work, he had also initiated an effort to collect and compile diplomatic documents of particular importance for Venice, another aspect of his political programme.[59] But the documentation was not limited to those official and well-known acts: the editor of the *Chronica extensa* identifies at least 320 documents used by Dandolo (40 partly quoted, 240 summarized, 30 not mentioned but obviously used, 10 hypothesized although they cannot be retrieved today).[60] One must remember that the doge had a competent team of collaborators, the most prominent of them being Great Chancellor of Venice Benintendi Ravegnani: in some way, the *Chronica extensa* is also a collective work, and to a certain extent a 'chronicle of chancery'. However, the doge alone assumed its full authorship.[61]

Perhaps for that reason, the project did not survive Dandolo's death and remained unfinished. Initiated in 1344, its redaction was interrupted for the first time in 1347 and again in 1352, probably because of the deteriorating social and political situation. The narrative stops in 1280, although the project was certainly to continue it until Dandolo's own reign, which is frustrating since on that last period he would have had firsthand information. As it is, the chronicle is organized in ten books, of which only the last two – and mostly the last – are of some interest for our purpose (Book IX, AD 991–1172; Book X, AD 1172–1280): the chronicle is a

[59] Manuscripts of the *Chronica extensa* also contained copies of some of those documents: see for example a manuscript of Turin, dating to the fourteenth century but completed in the fifteenth with copies of documents from the *Liber albus*, one of the compilation of international treaties copied at the order of the doge: Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, ed. Pastorello, p. L.

[60] The kind of material on which Dandolo worked is also illustrated by a small collection of 27 documents annexed to one of the manuscripts of the *Chronica extensa* (*Vaticanus latinus* 5842), published in an appendix to the edition of the chronicle (Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, ed. Pastorello, pp. 375–98). The editor hypothesises (ibid., p. 343) that those documents were gathered by Dandolo's collaborators and the collection was joined to the chronicle after the death of the author precisely because he had not had the possibility to include their substance in his work. Interestingly, 22 of those documents, although official ones, are not preserved elsewhere: the archives with which Dandolo worked were far more complete than they are today.

[61] As illustrated in the episode of the translation of the relics of St Tarasios (Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, ed. Pastorello, p. 205), where the relics are stolen allegedly with the help of a ship patron named Domenico Dandolo: '[W]e are two doges who took origin descending from him, that is to say Enrico Dandolo and we who are speaking' ('a quo degradando duo duces, videlicet Henricus Dandulo et nos qui loquimur, originem duximus').

rather voluminous text, but precisely because it is also an ambitious work twelfth- and thirteenth-century Romania occupies a comparatively minor place in it.[62]

The Collective Past of the Venetian Patriciate: Late Medieval Chronicles

Although the *Chronica extensa* did not evolve into the official records of Venetian history (at least not in the way Dandolo had expected), it set a precedent. For the first time a patrician took up the pen to narrate his city's past, something previously done only by ecclesiastics or minor public servants. Patrician involvement was to be a characteristic of Venetian chronicles for more than a century, until the advent of humanist historiography: it would be a historical narrative made by patricians for patricians, but collectively produced and consumed.[63]

Independently of Andrea Dandolo's work, another important fourteenth-century innovation was the introduction of Venetian rather than Latin, which made the chronicles accessible to a larger audience. Among these first texts in the vernacular language is a work perhaps almost as innovative and fecund as the doge's, but whose importance has been sometimes underestimated because it was still unpublished.[64] It is the *Cronica di Venexia* attributed to Enrico Dandolo, composed between 1360 and 1362, organized by ducal reigns, and using often different material from the *Chronica extensa*.[65] The author (certainly a patrician although the attribution to a not better identified Enrico Dandolo is problematic) expresses strong political

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62 In Pastorello's edition, the two last books are at pp. 189–327 (42.5 per cent of the chronicle). Book X, the only one concerning the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is at pp. 255–327, covering less than 22.5 per cent of the total work.

63 On those fourteenth- and fifteenth-century evolutions, see in particular Carile, 'Aspetti della cronachistica'; Dorit Raines, 'Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriziato: la cronaca "di consultazione" veneziana nei secoli XIV–XV', *Archivio veneto*, 5th series, 185 (1998): pp. 5–58. More briefly in French: Saint-Guillain, 'Les conquérants de l'Archipel', pp. 129–39. In English see also Hans Baron, 'A Forgotten Chronicle of Early Fifteenth-century Venice: The Copy in Newberry Manuscript f 87.I', in *Essays in History and Literature Presented by Fellows of the Newberry Library to Stanley Pargellis* (Chicago, IL, 1965), pp. 19–36, reprinted with the title 'Early Renaissance Venetian Chronicles: Their History and a Manuscript in the Newberry Library', in Hans Baron, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* (Chicago, IL, 1968), pp. 172–95.

64 The earlier manuscript is now in Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Codex H 85 inf. An edition has just appeared: *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo. Origini–1362*, ed. R. Pesce, Medioevo e Rinascimento. Testi, 2 (Venice, 2010).

65 On 'Enrico Dandolo' see Silvana Collodo, 'Temi e caratteri della cronachistica veneziana in volgare del Tre-Quattrocento (Enrico Dandolo)', *Studi veneziani*, 1st series, 9 (1967): pp. 127–51; Silvana Collodo, 'Note sulla cronachistica veneziana. A proposito di un recente volume', *Archivio veneto*, 5th series, 126 (1970): pp. 13–30, here pp. 18–20; Carile, 'Aspetti della cronachistica', pp. 98–107; Carile, *La cronachistica*, pp. 45–53;

views, particularly about his own times and the immediately preceding period. Until 1342, he pillages various chronicles (including a translation of *A Latina*), some of which are now lost, which he intermingles, as he explains himself, like the bricks of a wall; for the last two decades of his narrative, he is using his own testimony. He uses also family traditions that must be considered with some caution but can be extremely useful from a prosopographical point of view.[66]

Another interesting text of that period, this one still in Latin, is the *Venetiarum historia* (or *Cronica Venetiarum*, as Antonio Carile has chosen to call it), formerly and mistakenly attributed to Pietro Giustinian:[67] it follows the history of Venice until 1348 and was probably composed in Latin close to that date. In the 1350s, Pietro Giustinian possessed one exemplar of the chronicle, and completed it with marginal notes and additions until 1358, which were integrated into the text itself by a later copyist (hence the wrong attribution of the whole chronicle).[68] For the most part, the *Venetiarum historia* is not an original work, but, without competing with Andrea Dandolo, it used a rather large range of earlier chronicles, notably the *Historia ducum*, whose text it plagiarizes sometimes so closely that it has been used to complement it,[69] and the *Chronica extensa* itself, again sometimes word for word, except that it has converted the regnal years given by Dandolo into years according to the Christian era and the Venetian calendar (a conversion that is of course a new source of errors). However. his additions are interesting for understanding the political views of the author/compiler, for example through the epithets he attaches to the names of the doges.[70] The section beginning in 1280 with the reign of Doge Giovanni Dandolo contains valuable information and is more original, or rather we must have lost the texts that were plagiarized here: indeed, the *Venetiarum historia* often closely parallels the anonymous chronicle *A Latina*, but is much more prolix, as if both were deriving from a common source that *A Latina* would condense more

Giulia Barone, 'Dandolo, Enrico', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 32 (Rome, 1986), pp. 458–9. See also now the introduction to the edition of the chronicle.

66 See Saint-Guillain, 'Les conquérants de l'Archipel', pp. 149–55, about a passage of Enrico Dandolo that is important for the reconstruction of the life of Marco Sanudo: by its use of an obsolete formula, it can be dated to the end of the thirteenth or the very beginning of the fourteenth century and probably comes from a family tradition put into writing at that time (that is, much closer to the facts than the chronicle of Enrico Dandolo itself).

67 *Venetiarum historia*, ed. Cessi and Bennato. However, this edition lacks a critical apparatus.

68 See the Introduction of the edition of the *Venetiarum historia* and Antonio Carile, 'Note di cronachistica veneziana: Piero Giustinian e Nicolò Trevisan', *Studi veneziani*, 1st series, 9 (1967): pp. 103–25, here pp. 110–16, reproduced in Carile, *La chronachistica*, pp. 38–43.

69 See above.

70 They are analysed by Caterina Negri di Montenegro, 'Note sulla "Venetiarum Historia"', *Bizantinistica. Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*, 2nd series, 2 (2000): pp. 345–59.

drastically.[71] Nevertheless, that hypothetical source is not better known to us than through the *Venetiarum historia.*

This text is also interesting in another aspect: its appendices. Venetian historiography has always had a pronounced taste for lists; they are nevertheless often corrupted, when not completely spurious (e.g. lists of procurators of San Marco going back to a time when there was no procurator. In the *Venetiarum historia*, the list begins at the end of the twelfth century, which is realistic; some years later in its so-called Giustinian version, it is already completed by a detailed but bogus list of procurators beginning in 920). That makes them extremely difficult to use, even when they might seem close enough to the facts to be trusted: the lists of thirteenth-century colonial administrators annexed to the fourteenth-century *Venetiarum historia* are particularly enticing for the prosopographer, but they are not at all reliable, although they can sometimes help to reconstruct the actual sequence of officials when there is enough documentation to test their accuracy. This can be better illustrated by an example: the position of Bartolomeo Zorzi (on whom see above pp. 270–71) in the list of the castellans of Coron and Modon, with Marco Zeno and Tommaso Querini as his colleagues,[72] allows us to date his appointment more precisely and the beginning of his two years tenure (interrupted by his death) to the Autumn 1274.[73]

71 On the relations between the two texts see the Introduction to the recent edition of the later: *Cronaca 'A Latina'*, ed. Negri di Montenegro, here pp. 3–4. However, the editor does not take into consideration the similar relation of the *Venetiarum historia* to other texts and notably to the *Chronica extensa.*

72 *Venetiarum historia*, ed. Cessi and Bennato, p. 314.

73 Serra, 'Nuove ricerche', pp. 122–3, has refrained from doing so, arguing that a reconstruction of the chronology based on a theoretical addition of all the successive (but undated) tenures of the castellans of Coron from 1211 onwards would be too tentative, in the absence of any possible cross-checking. Actually, the arithmetic is not so complex since in some cases cross-checking is possible, so that it is not necessary to go right back to 1211. In July 1278, Delfino Dolfin was already elected as one of the three castellans, but was still in Venice and conversely in August of the same year Marino Morosini – a member of the previous triumvirate according to the list of the *Historia* – was still in office: Roberto Cessi (ed.), *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, vol. 3 (Bologna, 1934), p. 210, no. 80, and p. 214, no. 108. This confirms that in the 1270s the castellans (appointed for two years) were elected in the summer and took up their functions in the autumn of the even years. Five trios of castellans separate the one including Morosini from the one to which Bartolomeo Zorzi belonged. Moreover, in the list, the castellans just before the immediate predecessors of Zorzi and his colleagues are Leonardo Michiel and Marco Bembo, who – together with a Zeno – are attested in office *c.*1270: Gareth Morgan, 'The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 69 (1976): pp. 411–38, here p. 418. Both pieces of evidence are coherent and make it likely that Zorzi was in office in Messenia from the autumn of 1274, almost immediately after his return from captivity (which, after all, is what his *Vida* seems to say). This is confirmed by the fact that in September 1277 one of his two colleagues, Marco Zeno 'the Cuman' ('il Cumano'), was already back in Venice (Serra,

Although the *Venetiarum historia* is heavily dependent on earlier texts, it still belongs to the same stage of the evolution of the genre. Venetian historiography, however, took an entirely different path during the fourteenth century, following the strongly egalitarianist (if not actually egalitarian) aristocratic system that the republic had become. The most obvious transformation is the multiplication of manuscripts: if early chronicles are transmitted by few exemplars, more than a thousand codices of late medieval chronicles survive.[74] This is dispiriting because they are not literary works with a specific project: rather, they are practical handbooks for the closed patrician class that administers Venice and its colonies, much like armorials or, as we have seen, lists of civil servants with which they are often associated in the manuscripts.[75] Consequently, the notion of authorship is extremely feeble: these 'authors' have frequently been identified by some of the most famous surnames of the Venetian nobility; however, those names more often indicate ownership rather than authorship. The eponymous handbooks do not intend to be original, quite the contrary: the account they propose must be a broadly accepted – and acceptable – history of Venice, not the result of a personal, original research. Consequently, their narrative is extremely standardized. Those boring repetitions do not, however, exclude strong variations, some due to accumulated errors, others to a voluntary 'correction' of the past. As Antonio Carile was the first to demonstrate in an important study based on the episode of the 1204 division of the Byzantine Empire, the chronicles can be classified into groups, within which the succession of episodes has few variations.[76]

But it is the actual role of the chronicles that is changing in the fourteenth century as they begin to serve two different purposes and consequently are often dimorphic

'Nuove ricerche', p. 120: *qui venit de castellano Coroni* – that is to say he must have left office the previous year, in the autumn of 1276, or shortly thereafter). Zorzi would then have died in 1275/76. Serra emphasizes that the list makes no mention of his death, contrary to one of his predecessors, Nicolò Foscarini, whose name is followed by the words *et ibi obiit*. That is not an objection, however, since any mention of death is likewise missing for Nicolò Falier, castellan of Coron, who is also known to have died in office: Cessi (ed.), *Deliberazioni*, vol. 3, pp. 366–7, no. 64. There are three other occurrences of a Bartolomeo Zorzi in the list, but in my opinion they are too late to be identified with the troubadour (*pace* Serra, 'Nuove ricerche', pp. 123 and 138–40: the Bartolomeo Zorzi, son of the late Marco, active from the end of the 1270s must be another individual, although he might be one of those later castellans).

74 The publication of a catalogue of those kept in the Marcian Library has been announced by Carlo Campana. It is also interesting to note that compendia (both in Latin and in Venetian rendition) of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica extensa*, excised of all its non-Venetian elements, had a much larger diffusion than the work in its original form.

75 On this evolution see Carile, 'Aspetti della cronachistica'; Arnaldi and Capo, 'I cronisti di Venezia' [2nd part]; and Raines, 'Alle origini dell'archivio'.

76 Carile, *La cronachistica*, is still the indispensable guide to the jungle of the late chronicles. For a critical point of view see, however, Collodo, 'Note sulla cronachistica', and the answer by N. Flocchini in *Studi veneziani*, 1st series, 14 (1972): pp. 385–96.

works. They recapitulate and condense previous historical narratives of the common past on which almost everybody agrees. But from the end of the fourteenth century, their owners often feel the need to complete them, and to insert new contemporary documents or personal notices. Here they are working as original authors. An early example we have already encountered is the so-called 'Giustinian chronicle', the chronicle attributed to Pietro Giustinian, which is in fact a copy of the *Venetiarum history* with some additions perhaps made by or for Pietro Giustinian, who was its owner (but not its author in the literary sense) in the mid-fourteenth century.[77]

Consequently the late chronicles tend to be much more original for the period immediately preceding the time of their compilation, evolving ultimately into the prolific diarist-history of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[78] But it is important to keep in mind that this originality concerns only the immediate history, not the earlier centuries that are our interest. A typical example is the fifteenth-century chronicle of Antonio Morosini:[79] it is a mine of information for the first years of the Quattrocento, but its narrative of the earlier periods, and notably of the thirteenth century, is only a plagiarism of the chronicle of 'Enrico Dandolo', often with errors. When these chronicles contain autonomous documents relating to the thirteenth century (then in Venetian translation), they are always taken from the existing historiographic tradition, not directly from the archives. Such is the case, for example, for the documents relating to the Fourth Crusade or those concerning the acquisition of Crete.

The only exception is the chronicle of the chancellor of Crete, Lorenzo de Monacis (1351–1428),[80] a work that stands apart by its stronger authorship and the personality of its author. Like many others his chronicle is basically a plagiarism, often servile, of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica extensa*. However, it also contains

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77 See above, note 68.

78 Christiane Neerfeld, *'Historia per forma di diaria': la cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti. Memorie, 114 (Venice, 2006).

79 Edition (in progress) with English translation: *The Morosini Codex*, ed. M.P. Ghezzo, J.R. Melville-Jones and A. Rizzi, vols 1–3, Archivio del Litorale Adriatico, 3 (Padoa, 1999–2005). See also Melville-Jones, 'Venetian History and Patrician Chroniclers'. In French see the partly outdated but nevertheless still useful study of Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'Étude sur Antonio Morosini et son œuvre', in *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini. Extraits relatifs à l'histoire de France*, ed. G. Lefèvre-Pontalis and L. Dorez, vol. 4 (Paris, 1902), pp. 1–250 (the three first volumes of that edition contain only extracts relating to French history).

80 The only available edition is: Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon de rebus Venetis ab U.C. ad annum 1354 ...*, ed. Fl. Corner (Venice, 1758). On the author and his cultural background, see Mario Poppi, 'Ricerche sulla vita e cultura del notaio e cronista veneziano Lorenzo de Monacis, cancelliere cretese (ca. 1351–1428)', *Studi veneziani*, 1st series, 9 (1967): pp. 153–85, and Agostino Pertusi, 'Le fonti greche del *De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetiarum* di Lorenzo de Monacis cancelliere di Creta (1388–1428)', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 8 (1965): pp. 161–211.

some totally original interpolations, which use both archives and narrative texts (including Greek authors like Niketas Choniates). Between those segments, the most important is a long digression, opened by the narration of the events of year 1211, which is basically a thematic history of Cretan revolts against Venice from her acquisition of the island until the end of the fourteenth century. To write this section, De Monacis used original documents that his functions allowed him to consult in the archives of Venice and Candia.[81] It makes it a very valuable source for thirteenth-century prosopography.

For the rest, the world of late medieval and early modern Venetian historiography is no less than a Borgesian nightmare for someone working on the twelfth to thirteenth centuries: he will be confronted with hundreds of similar chronicles frantically copying each other in a most incestuous manner and profusely multiplying scribal errors, anachronisms, omissions and nonsenses. However, by the accumulative process of the texts, the genre evolved almost into a literature in its own right.[82] Later, with the development of humanism and the production of historiographic narratives of more literary standing, this spurious material was elaborated again to conform to the canon of classical historiography, with its explanation of causalities and its lengthy discourses. When information was missing, it was just invented. Those inventions are easily identifiable when a name or a date suddenly pops up in a narrative that is basically reproduced – sometimes word for word – from a well-attested tradition.[83] But sometimes the inventions are much more colourful, so as to make the prosopographer's dream, from the list of the Venetian electors[84] of Emperor Baldwin to the opinion of Marco Sanudo's soldiers on their own leader – except of course that it is all fake.

Nevertheless, those very late texts can be extremely realistic and rather seductive: in the past they have sometimes been preferred without serious examination to the drier and unsatisfactory early narratives.[85] For example, for Cretan history the

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[81] As I have tried to show elsewhere, his more important – and perhaps only – original source for those events in the thirteenth century was most probably a register (now lost) of the correspondence sent by the dukes of Crete to the central government in Venice: see Saint-Guillain, 'Les conquérants de l'Archipel', pp. 190–91.

[82] Marino Sanudo the Younger, for example, at the end of the fifteenth century consulted many of those chronicles, several of which are now lost, to write his *Vite dei dogi*, and sometimes tried to interpret their contradictions.

[83] Of course, the probability that it would have been extracted from an original source that would have contained nothing more of interest and then transplanted into the chronicle narrative is very remote. Late medieval chronographers were not adept at that kind of erudite microsurgery.

[84] The taste for lists, already noted in earlier texts, inflates in later historiography where those lists become corrupted beyond the point of salvation. It is possible that some of them were created using and reworking more ancient lists, but it was to put them into a completely different context.

[85] John S. Langdon, 'John III Ducas Vatatzes and the Venetians: The Episode of his Anti-Venetian Cretan Campaigns, 1230 and 1234', in Claudia Sode and Sarolta Takács

work of Antonio Calergi (1521–55), which closely parallels Lorenzo de Monacis on the revolts but is much more abundant in small details and rationalizations of the causes of the events, has often been considered a reliable source. The only argument generally advanced is that Calergi was a Cretan from a pre-eminent Veneto-Greek lineage, and so would have known. However, a closer examination of his life and work shows that he spent most of his life in Venice and not in Crete. To produce his *Commentari* (whose title is itself a telling witness to their humanistic nature), he was not using family archives, or even public archives in Venice, but was an assiduous reader of the late medieval chronicles kept at the Biblioteca Marciana: his information came only from them; all the rest was literary and ideological amplification.[86]

All those contaminations and distortions in the later texts can themselves become a fascinating object of history, because they reveal how Venetians of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance were dealing with their past and were sometimes rebuilding it anew.[87] However, it is not a very fruitful field for thirteenth-century prosopography.

(eds), *Novum Millennium. Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck, 19 December 1999* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 231–303, is a good example of the damage that can be produced by an uncritical use of the late Venetian chronicles: see some remarks in Saint-Guillain, 'Les conquérants', pp. 139, 216 and 231–3.

[86] See the careful study of Roberto Borgis, 'Creta nel Duecento. Dai Commentari di Antonio Calergi, cronista veneziano del secolo XVI', *Quaderni medievali*, 28 (1989): pp. 63–96.

[87] That is one of the results of the study of Antonio Carile on the narrative of the division of the Byzantine Empire in the chronicles. See also more recently the studies of Şerban Marin on various episodes of the Fourth Crusade in the late historiography, and his edition of a sixteenth-century chronicle well known to the Byzantinists working on the Palaeologan period: Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istorii Venețiene*, ed. Ş.V. Marin, vol. 1, *De la originile Cetății la moartea dogelui Giacopo Tiepolo (1249)* (Bucharest, 2008), and vol. 2, *De la alegerea dogelui Marino Morosini la moartea dogelui Bartolomeo Gradenigo (1249–1342)* (Bucharest, 2009).

Chapter 14

Sailing from Byzantium: Byzantines and Greeks in the Venetian World

Sally McKee

More than an empire fell apart, when the Byzantine centre could no longer hold. In the period surrounding the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the myriad boundaries that divided the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean grew profoundly unstable. Most people lost more than their emperor and patriarch. More than lands, lives and loot fell victim to the armies from the west and later from the east. Over the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century, with the mounting struggle between the Frankish and Italian rulers, on the one hand, and the encroaching Turkish powers, on the other, the indigenous populations of the Byzantine Empire lost sight of their future and, in the long run, their past.

And, for the most part, we lost sight of them. The subjects of the empire that the Franks, Venetians, Normans, Slavs, Seljuks and Ottomans slowly hacked into pieces over the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries faced two alternatives: they could attempt to survive where they were, or they left, voluntarily or otherwise. The ones who stayed became subjects of new rulers. As historical subjects, they attracted the attention of scholars interested in the economic, ethnographic and social history of the emergent Ottoman Empire.[1] Those whom the course of events propelled out of the empire into the wider Mediterranean world lost their status as subjects of the emperor of the old eastern empire. When they joined the anonymous masses of migrants or slaves, they also lost their status as the subjects of study.

For most of the twentieth century, practically the only refugees from the moribund Byzantine Empire to interest scholars were the intellectuals who migrated to Italian cities in search of employment and patronage. While the career of a learned ecclesiastic like Cardinal Bessarion repaid the scholarly focus on refugees of the highest status, the humbler ones had to compete for the attention of modern scholars with the classical authors whose works, previously unknown in the West, they carried to Italy. Prior to the last quarter of the twentieth century, relatively few scholars placed those refugee intellectuals within their social context, except in so far as they mattered to the humanist movement in Italy.[2] More recently,

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1 A fine example is Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton, NJ, 2000).

2 John Monfasani, *Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy: Studies on Humanism and Philosophy in the Fifteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2004); John Monfasani, *George of*

with the rise of an interest in national and ethnic identity, some have undertaken biographies of the refugee intellectuals making a living in Italian cities.[3] On a more exalted level above that of the intellectuals, the marriages between royal and noble Byzantine sons, on the one hand, and the daughters of western rulers, on the other, have served as maps of the diplomatic landscape for a few scholars.[4] Although the number of nobles, intellectuals and ecclesiastics from the Byzantine Empire never crossed the threshold from few to many, their cultural importance certainly exceeded their numbers.

These elite representatives of Byzantine culture were by no means the only refugees and migrants at large in the Mediterranean world. Far more people than anyone will ever be able to count were sold at auction in markets all around the shoreline and disappeared into the masses of anonymous slaves. Also, innumerable sailors and artisans migrated to other port cities in search of employment. Once they settled, it took only two or three generations for most of those from the Byzantine Empire and from Latin-ruled territory with Greek populations to assimilate into the societies where they found havens. So many people emigrated, either forcibly or voluntarily, under so many different circumstances and constraints that it would be difficult to generalize about their fates in one narrative. When Frankish troops poured into the city after breaching Constantinople's walls in 1204, the Byzantine identity of the emperor's subjects on all social levels began at the same moment to seep out. Like water seeking an outlet, it flowed in all directions, its movement guided only by the resistance of the more stable identities it encountered.

For this reason, prosopographers in search of Byzantine subjects need to be able to recognize those whom they seek. Prosopography must concern itself with debates about ethnicity. For it is equally important, given how socially and culturally varied the migrants from the empire were, that Byzantinists decide which ones they ought to exclude from their search and on what grounds. Social rank and ethnic identity must play an explicit role in following the trail. Like detectives following suspects hoping to lose themselves in a crowd, prosopographers should agree which traits distinguish the Byzantine objects of their search from other Greek-speaking, Greek rite adherents. Once they agree on those traits, they must also arrive at a shared understanding of the constraints that circumstances, time and custom place on their investigation. This would involve a consensus about how to employ archival sources in the search. Most fundamentally, however, researchers must ask themselves whether and for how long an imperial identity

Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic (Leiden, 1976).

3 Lydia Thom-Wickert, *Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350–1415): Eine Biographie des byzantinischen Intellectuellen vor dem Hintergrund der hellenistischen Studien in der italienischen Renaissance* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006).

4 Sandra Origone, 'Marriage Connections between Byzantium and the West in the Age of the Palaiologoi', in Benjamin Arbel (ed.), *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean* (London–Portland, OR, 1996), pp. 226–41. See also the articles by Michael Angold and Teresa Shawcross in this volume.

on all social levels persisted after the demise of the empire, and if it did then they must decide how it differed from a more general emergent Greek identity. All these tasks are necessary because, on the whole, scholars have paid too little attention to the assumptions behind the terminology they use to describe people in the past. In other words, 'Byzantine' is not a self-evident category of analysis for prosopographers in a post-Byzantine world.

I offer in this chapter some thoughts on the use of ethnic ascriptions in the late medieval world that would have some bearing on Byzantine prosopography. My work on the Venetian colony of Crete and on the Venetian trade in domestic slaves has led me to view the post-1204 Christian Mediterranean as a turning point in the relationship between religion and ethnicity. Simply put, prior to the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the word 'Greek', when used to identify persons who spoke Greek and worshipped in Greek, carried primarily a religious connotation. Until then, ancestry played a minor role in its meaning. To the extent that ethnic identity existed in ways we recognize today, it centred on locality more than on shared cultural traits, like language, across regions. Then, the events during the period of the crusades set in motion structural changes that shifted how people differentiated among themselves and – more importantly – how they classified others from the increasingly heterogeneous people circulating around them.[5]

The western conquerors transformed the societies of the Christian Mediterranean by shaping how people experienced ethnic and religious difference in principally two spheres of activity: the slave trade and colonial rule over conquered people. Religious allegiance alone no longer – if it ever had – offered protection from enslavement and subordination. As the danger of being captured and sold into slavery threatened more and more people during the thirteenth and subsequent centuries, particularly in lands with majority Greek-speaking populations, the need to distinguish between those legally invulnerable to enslavement and those whose enslavement would be sustained in a court of law helped ancestry to supplant religion as the organizing agent of ethnicity.[6] Courts in Italian cities upheld claims for free status on the basis, first, of place of origin, and, second, as a deduction from the first, religion. Judges followed a hierarchical line of logic: once it was established that a person was born a subject of the Hungarian king, it followed that he or she must be Hungarian, consequently a member of the Roman communion

[5] The late Joshua Prawer was one of the first crusade historians who thought about the sociological, structural impact of foreign conquest. See his *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), reprinted recently as *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 2001).

[6] I discuss this point from a different angle in Sally McKee, 'Gli schiavi e il commercio degli schiavi', in Franco Franceschi, Richard A. Goldthwaite and Reinhold C. Mueller (eds), *L'Italia e l'economia europea: Commercio e cultura mercantile*, vol. 5 of *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa* (Treviso, 2007). A revised, translated version appears in *Slavery & Abolition*, 29/3 (2008): pp. 1–21. See also Sally McKee, 'Inherited Status and Slavery in Renaissance Italy and Venetian Crete', *Past & Present*, 182 (2004): pp. 31–53.

and therefore free by definition. Similarly, the need to draw a line between the colonizers and the colonized and all their respective rights and obligations also abetted the immersion of religion into ethnic identity, especially in lands where Christian conquerors ruled a conquered Christian population.[7] In territories ruled by Franks, Genoese and Venetians, Latin men and women – all from lands within the Roman communion – enjoyed complete protection from servitude. Ancestry did not condemn anyone automatically to slavery, but it could automatically bestow freedom.

In the same extended period when the Byzantine Empire and its subjects were slowly vanishing, the religious attributes inherent in the word 'Greek' began to cede pride of place to ancestry without disappearing altogether. Centuries would pass before 'the Greeks' referred to something other or more than a minority group ruled by people whose language was not Greek and whose religious practices differed from its own. It would be very hard and unavoidably debatable to pinpoint the time when Greekness – a pan-Hellenic identification and allegiance – replaced a primary allegiance to the *patria*, an immigrant's local place of origin.[8] For this reason, the gradual evolution of the meaning of ethnic difference for Christian societies along the northern shore of the Mediterranean makes it difficult to distinguish easily Greek migrants, such as former Byzantine subjects, from other Greek-speaking followers of the Eastern Church in lands that had not been under imperial rule for centuries.

To illustrate the points made above, I examine here one document from Venetian Crete to show that terms like 'Byzantine' and 'Greek' are too static and inflexible to be meaningful ethnic ascriptions in the Venetian world without a lot of qualifications. Then I turn to look at the Greeks in Venice and what one recent scholar has to say about the distinction between Byzantine and Greek men and women. The point of this endeavour is to unsettle common assumptions that we all carry in our scholarly toolbox when we write history. It is difficult for us to see the medieval period without looking through the nationalist window frame nineteenth-century historians opened on to the past. Just as historians of the kingdoms of the early Middle Ages, like Herwig Wolfram and Walter Pohl, have altered our understanding of ethnicity in the early Middle Ages, so, too, we ought to revisit how historians have depicted ethnic and religion difference within the Christian West.[9] With regard to our subject here, prosposographers hunting for Byzantine

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7 I develop this line of thought in Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: The Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, PA, 2000).

8 See the doctoral dissertation of Charalambos Demetrious for an alternative reading of Greek identity: *Public Identity of the Greeks of Cyprus, 1400–1700*, PhD dissertation (Columbia University, 2005), and see also the article by Tassos Papacostas in this volume.

9 Herwig Wolfram, *The History of the Goths*, transl. Th. J. Dunlap (Berkeley, CA, 1988). For a good introduction to the new approaches to ethnicity in pre-modern Europe, see Walter Pohl, Ian Wood and Helmut Reimitz (eds), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800* (Leiden–Boston, MA, 1998). Patrick Geary,

migrants in their sources would benefit from a re-examination of the ways people in the Venetian world used ethnic ascriptions.

By 1204, few populations in the Mediterranean had a stronger sense of their own history and polity than the Venetians. For that reason, nowhere does the complex fate of Byzantine men and women become more apparent than in Venice and its dominions. As a magnet for the inhabitants of its colonies, Venice more than most medieval societies became adept at balancing a heterogeneous population on the hundred or so connected islands on which the city perched. An international emporium, the mythically Serene Republic tolerated to differing degrees the presence of Jews, Muslim merchants and heterodox Christians. For much of the medieval period, Venice enjoyed commercial advantages above all other powers operating in the eastern Mediterranean. By 1261, when Byzantine forces took Constantinople from its Latin rulers, the Venetians ruled more territory occupied by Greek-speaking adherents of the Eastern Church than any other Italian power.

With regard to Venetian territory where far more Greeks lived than in the metropolis, Crete offers a good laboratory for testing the limits of the word 'Greek'. A relatively small group of men and women of Venetian descent held places of privilege there. An even smaller group of colonial administrators from Venice moved in and out of the colony in cycles of two-year terms. The overwhelming majority of the population was Greek–Cretan. Some of the island's nobility traced their lineage down from Byzantine nobility. But in all the dusty documentation lying on the shelves of the State Archives of Venice, there are a finite number of documents in which we find contemporaries using the word 'Greek'. They consist of official governmental documents – deliberations, court records, a few land surveys, and official correspondence – and a large number of notarial records of private documents. Regarding the latter, only the notarial records of the main port city and capital, Candia, remain, which means that none of the registers of Greek notaries working in the hinterland have survived. However, since it behooved anyone who could afford it to have their business transactions recorded in Latin, lest it be contested in court, a fairly representative slice of the population is on view in the notarial documents.

Then or now, it is generally the case that men and women tend not to state their ethnic identity in private documents, like wills, quittances and marriage contracts, unless the law requires them to – and when they do so, it is almost always for pernicious reasons. This was the case on Venetian Crete. In a collection of nearly one thousand wills from Venetian Crete dating to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, no one identifies him- or herself as a Greek or a Latin, the two categories according to which full legal capacity in the colony was assigned. But when testators did occasionally use the word, it was nearly always in a religious context, referring either to a priest, a religious rite or an ecclesiastical institution.

The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe (Princeton, NJ, 2002) is also a good starting point.

Just how hard it is to read into the documents where former Byzantine subjects appear becomes very clear when reading documents made by private individuals. In the collection of wills from Venetian Crete, there are only two references to people from Constantinople. One example consists only of a toponymic of a man, Costas of Constantinople, about whom we have little information.[10] The other reference occurs in a will made in 1358, by Irene wife of Theodore Gemistos, a physician from Constantinople.[11] Irene (Eirene, to use the Greek form of her name) was the daughter of the late ser Emanuel Ialina, a prominent Greek–Cretan and member of the Candiote Great Council. Although her late father's membership on the council was predicated on his conversion to the Latin rite, Irene's bequest reveals that she remained attached to the Greek Church. In her will, she appointed as her executors Marco Calergi, a *marescalcus*, and Caterino Ialina, most likely her cousin, two men whose cognomens indicate they were also Greek–Cretans. She expressed a wish to be buried in the church of the monastery of Mount Sinai, the most prestigious institution of the Eastern Church on the island, and bequeathed to them four medical books and six *perperi*, a standard amount for a pious gift from a wealthy benefactor. Among her other bequests, she left to her godfather, the *papas* Andreas of the village Vrida, a bed comforter (*cultra*). Her goddaughter, Aniza, daughter of Marco Calergi, was to receive two gold rings, buttons and a tablecloth. Her executor Caterino Ialina was to receive a belt made of about one ounce of silver and 15 gold-plated silver buttons (*botonos argenti de aurati quindecim*), four gold rings, her feather bed with its linen and platform and a big comforter of red and green cloth (*laborata ad intalium*), three sheets, two pillows, a tablecloth. Lastly, she allowed him to choose one of her three writing desks. The two witnesses to the will were the *papas* Constantine Philadelphinos and Rigo Dandolo.

What is there to learn from Irene's will? She was born into one of the prominent and wealthy Greek–Cretan families that cooperated with Venetian rule. Even though the men in her family had converted to the Roman rite, which gave them access to the colony's councils, she continued to worship according to the Greek rite. She married a physician from Constantinople, whose profession would have garnered them both a measure of prestige in the Venetian colony. She was very likely related to one branch of the prominent Greek–Cretan family, the Calergi. The two witnesses to her will were a Greek priest and a member of one of the most prominent Venetian patrician colonial families on the island. At first glance Irene's will gives every appearance of supporting a notion of Greek solidarity among people of different places in what would now be considered the Greek world.

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10 Will of Mary *Cuffopulina*, widow of ser *Costa*, seler, of Constantinople, 5 July 1337, no. 433: Sally McKee (ed.), *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1312–1420*, 3 vols (Washington, DC, 1998), vol. 2, p. 561.

11 *Herini*, daughter of the late ser *Hemanuel Ialina*, wife of Theodore *Gemisto, medicus* of Constantinople, 12 December 1358, no. 163: ibid., vol. 1, p. 207.

As is often the case when trying to interpret family alliances across ethnic and religious lines in this period, practice contradicts theory. To begin with, in the fourteenth century, since the Ialina family held seats on the Great Council of Candia, a body that explicitly excluded 'Greeks', Venice clearly no longer considered the Ialina to be Greek, even though there is evidence in addition to Irene's will that they maintained an allegiance to eastern religious practices. The Venetian Senate's insistence that participation in the political life of the colony depended on switching to the Roman Church was out of date with the realities of the colony. Conversion to the Roman rite gained the men in Greek families access to the council and the privileges attending status as 'Latins', but the women in those families did not always follow suit. Publicly, the Ialina had become Latins. Privately, they remained Greeks to the extent that they continued to worship in the Greek Church. Furthermore, in Venetian Crete, the Greek language ceased to be exclusively the language of the conquered. Second-, third- and fourth-generation settlers of Venetian descent spoke Greek.

A better-known family to Venetian scholars, the most politically powerful archontic family on the island, the Calergi, also shows how it was possible for non-Venetians to blend into the Venetian world while still remaining distinct. The Calergi first came to the notice of Venetian chroniclers in the late thirteenth century, when the family's leader, Alexios Calergi, led a revolt against Venetian rule. In the treaty concluded between the Calergi and Venice, the Venetian negotiators conceded to the now-pacified rebels the right to marry into Venetian patrician families, but other sources indicate that the Calergi had been marrying into important Venetian–Cretan families for at least one generation prior to the revolt. What's more, notarial documents show that members of this family lived in Venice for extended periods prior to the major revolt led by Alexios Calergi at the end of that century. Several families of Venetian patrician descent pursued a strategy of intermarriage with the Calergi throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And even though the first formal permission for marriage between Latins and Greeks occurs in the peace treaty between Alexios Calergi and the Venetians, there is evidence to show that they had been marrying one another since the Venetians first arrived in the early 1220s.

Intermarriage between Venetian settler families in Crete and local, high-ranking Greek–Cretan families throughout the four centuries of Venetian rule raises a few important questions. When the settler families connected through lineage with patrician families in Venice began to relocate to the city of their forefathers and -mothers, how many members of their families were descendants of Greek–Cretans? More to the point, how aware of their repatriating cousins' Greek-Cretan ancestors were the patricians of Venice? Did it matter to them that they were related?

The same forces that brought an end to the Byzantine Empire also motivated Greeks from all over the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean to migrate to Venice. Starting in the thirteenth century, Crete supplied a majority of the new arrivals in the lagoon. In the Venetian merchant quarter in Constantinople, both Latin residents

and many Greek denizens who had acquired a limited form of Venetian status for its fiscal advantages emigrated to Venice or Crete when their city returned to Byzantine rule. As the pre-eminent colonial and mercantile power in the Aegean, Venice was the preferred destination in the thirteenth century for Greek people looking to improve their economic situation.[12]

In the fourteenth century, migrants from the empire and the Venetian *stato da mar* continued to come to Venice, as they had done for centuries, but the opportunity of sharing Venice's prosperity drew them to the lagoon in greater numbers than ever before. They came from Constantinople, Epiros, Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes and the Aegean Islands. Once arrived, the greatest concentration of them settled in the *sestieri* of Castello and San Marco. Prior to the fifteenth century, the size of the population from the Byzantine Empire and the Aegean is difficult to estimate. By the mid-1400s, at least 4,000 lived in and around the lagoon, their number rising to nearly 5,000 in the following century. One contemporary observer in the Great Council described the Greek population as 'a great crowd' (*magna multitudo*). In 1470, the Venetian Senate allowed masses in the Byzantine rite to be held in a side chapel of the church of San Biagio. In 1498, 58 Greek residents petitioned the Venetian Senate for permission to form the *scuola di San Nicoló*, a confraternity that restricted itself to 250 members.[13]

Within this population of Greeks, those most easily described as Byzantine amount to a very small number of people. In a recent dissertation, the most comprehensive study of the Greeks in Venice thus far, Ersie Burke makes an important distinction when she observes, 'The only other term that meant Greek was the word Romaic (adjective) or Romnios/a (the person), but these were exclusively used by Byzantine exiles when referring to themselves and their institutions.'[14] In her database of Greeks living in Venice during the sixteenth century, there are five families from the Byzantine nobility of Constantinople residing there. Most of them had arrived in Venice during the previous century. They kept themselves aloof from their Greek-speaking neighbours, were not members of the Greek confraternity, and seldom had use for notaries. According to Burke, this small group of Byzantine noble families felt they had nothing in common with fellow Greek-speaking worshipers in the Greek Church.[15] If a prospographical study of

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12 David Jacoby, 'I greci ed altre comunità tra Venezia e Oltremare', in Maria Francesca Tiepolo and Eurigio Tonetti (eds), *I Greci a Venezia. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Venezia, 5–7 novembre 1998* (Venice, 2002), pp. 41–82, here pp. 44–5.

13 Ersie Burke, *The Greek Neighborhoods of Sixteenth-century Venice, 1498–1600: Daily Life of an Immigrant Community*, PhD dissertation (Monash University, 2004). For a comprehensive bibliography on the presence of Greeks in Venice, see Nikolaos G. Moschonas, 'La comunità greca di Venezia: aspetti sociali ed economici', in Tiepolo and Tonetti (eds), *I Greci a Venezia*, pp. 221–42.

14 Burke, *The Greek Neighborhoods*, p. 220, n. 19.

15 Ibid., p. XX.

Byzantine migrants was limited to this group, the implications of the analysis would be very limited indeed.

Apart from the small group of Byzantine nobles, deciding which of the more humble Greeks living in Venice could be described as Byzantine presents a challenge. Looking around the Venetian landscape we find Greek people who would be difficult to categorize and whose presence there poses problems of – literally – identification. Would a prosopography of Byzantine migrants in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries include those merchants who acquired limited Venetian nationality while still living in Constantinople, some of whom migrated to Venice and Crete after 1261?[16] Should such a study include slaves when their birth names and places of origin indicate their prior residence in the empire? Would it be useful to cull the notarial sources for the names and activities of sailors and artisans who migrated to Venice for economic reasons? Among the patriciate, should Greek women from mercantile rather than aristocratic families who married Venetian men figure in a prospographical survey? How directly must a family from Constantinople have arrived from their homeland in order to be considered still Byzantine? If they live for a number of years in one of Venice's overseas territories, would they still count as Byzantine? How far back in time would a prosopographical study reach to find Byzantine families who emigrated from the empire? Would it include, for instance, the archontic families of Crete, who prided themselves on their Byzantine ancestry?

These questions highlight how complex a search for Byzantine migrants would be and how challenging it would be to devise parameters as to who would or would not qualify as a worthy subject of study. With the demise of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century came the demise of 'Byzantine' people and the reconfiguration of the category of 'Greek'. The status of imperial subject formed the dividing line between Greek-speaking subjects of the Byzantine emperor and Greek-speaking subjects of Venice, Genoa, an Anatolian emir or a Muslim master. The loss of that status allowed for the possibility that the former subjects would cast their allegiances along linguistic, religious and eventually ethnic lines. But did that happen uniformly throughout the populations described as Greek, and what is the evidence for it?

Finally, one more factor ought to be considered when contemplating how to approach Byzantines in a post-Byzantine world. To what extent, I wonder, did some families seek to obscure and prefer to forget their origins? Unfortunately, the evidence is largely circumstantial. Nevertheless, I have come to suspect that there were reasons why Venetian patrician families in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would have wanted to obscure not only their Greek roots but also the antiquity of them. From the late thirteenth century through the first half of the

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16 David Jacoby, 'Les Venitiens naturalisés dans l'Empire byzantine: un aspect de l'expansion de Venise en Romanie du XIII^{e} au milieu du XV^{e} siècle', in *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Aldershot, 1989; first printed 1981), article IX, pp. 217–35, here pp. 225–7; Jacoby, 'I greci ed altre comunità', p. 45.

fifteenth, the Great Council of Venice attempted several times to tighten up the regulations regarding entrance into it. One motivating factor for the tightening of the rules may have been a concern that men of Greek origin – often of illegitimate status – were gaining entry into the patriciate. The number of repatriating people belonging to cadet branches of Venetian patriciate clans and a smaller number of Greek–Cretan noble families who were kin of prominent Venetian families gave rise to a feeling of anxiety in Venice about their social status and lineage. Substantiating the existence of anxiety among the patriciate about status, religion and ethnicity is difficult, to say the least, but I sense strongly that the status concerns of the Venetian patriciate were associated with the ethno-religious attributes of claimants to Venetian patrician status.

The recognition that Venetian society included families of Greek origin ought to signal to us that, prior to the fifteenth century, in practice the people of the eastern Mediterranean began with very fluid notions of how people moved between religious–ethnic groups. But over time the categories that divided people by religion and ancestry became more rigid. We have only a very dim idea of what happens to people's sense of themselves and others' perceptions of them when they leave their place of origin, which makes our task of tracing the routes of Byzantine people very difficult.

The success of a prospographical database depends on its creators' ability to be clear about who it is looking for. Byzantine identity cannot have remained stable on all social levels to the same degree. Therefore, the parameters for inclusion may entail restoring to some individuals and families their past and ruthlessly cutting off others from theirs.

PART IV
Conclusions

Chapter 15
Thirteenth-century Prosopography and Refugees

Judith Herrin

The capture of Constantinople by the leaders of the Fourth Crusade in April 1204 marks a major break not only in the history of the Byzantine Empire, but also of the East Mediterranean and, one could argue, of the West as well. For the victors, possession of the Byzantine capital promised the possible conquest and occupation of previously imperial territory. For the losers, their Byzantine world was turned upside down by the loss of its nodal point, the metropolitan centre, the 'queen' city that had ruled the empire for centuries. On both sides the unexpected results produced new configurations of power: western crusaders, initially recruited for an attack on Muslim Egypt, had to consider how to rule over a Latin empire, while many of the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople were forced to flee in humiliating circumstances. For several turbulent years, these new rulers and new refugees found themselves in unfamiliar conditions, which must have changed their perception of their own identities. Some notion of the fundamentally imperial character of Byzantium appears to have lived on in the claims made by authorities in Constantinople and its rivals, the capitals of Nicaea, Arta and Trebizond, where each tried to sustain the essence of imperial power. In their different ways they reflected a tectonic shift that is manifested in new pluralistic identities.

As many of the contributions to this volume demonstrate, the events of 1204 intensified nascent forces that were already working to combine elements of local identity with more international ones: Bulgarian, Serbian and Armenian, crusader forces from mainland Syria and Cyprus, and the maritime power of Venice, all sought to magnify their claims to rule by imitating or incorporating imperial elements from Byzantium. At the same time, the refugee states set up in Nicaea and Epiros, and the break-away independent empire of Trebizond, established their right to be considered as the sole true heir of Byzantium, through religious authorization by patriarchal figures, intermarriage with previous ruling dynasties, courtly government and employment of imperial administrative techniques. In the course of military campaigns, diplomatic exchanges, trading agreements and religious debates, this plethora of separate powers tried to determine which could make the most convincing claim to be legitimate and often imperial. The forces generated by the idea of Byzantium influenced them all profoundly.

But of course, in the first half of the thirteenth century, there was no Byzantium; instead, a number of smaller states with imperial pretensions laid claim to its

mantle, as Cécile Morrisson's elegant analysis of their coinage makes clear. Even some neighbouring Muslim states shared in this process of cultural appropriation, while the Bulgarians and Serbs strengthened their already developed adaptation of Byzantine cultures, as Rustam Shukurov, Dimiter Angelov and Ljubomir Maksimović demonstrate. The Venetians, who gained most from 1204, established a stronger grip on the international trade of Constantinople, which is reflected in the frequently rewritten sources, carefully analysed by Guillaume Saint-Guillain, while the Genoese suffered discrimination, documented most effectively by Catherine Otten. These collective expressions of identity and political allegiance may be contrasted with individual experiences that informed them. Concepts of personal identity were badly shaken as military crusaders became territorial rulers, and refugees from Constantinople found themselves reduced to poverty in exiled communities. Leading Greek Orthodox clergy were expelled from their sees and replaced by Latins appointed by Rome; merchants renegotiated the terms of their trading relations from new bases, and artists sought patrons who commissioned different styles of manuscripts and icons, to name only a few of the transformations that must have been experienced.

In this maelstrom of shifting and transitional identities, a greater fluidity is apparent; for example, in the key role played by individuals who acted as go-betweens among the different powers, diplomats, interpreters, translators, mercenaries and money changers, among others. These in-between figures who moved among the diverse forces and new centres of power often encapsulate the pluralistic nature of shifting identities and changing allegiances. During this period Italian interpreters, such as Paschalis Romanus and Leo Toscan who had a long experience of working in the Byzantine court, and newly arrived mendicant friars who learnt Greek and participated in theological debates in Constantinople and Nicaea, such as Ralph of Rheims, seem to take a more prominent role. Another aspect of the political and social upheavals that followed from 1204 was increased western access to classical Greek texts manifested by Nicholas-Nektarios, abbot of Otranto, and later the Dominican friar William of Moerbeke who was appointed archbishop of Corinth in 1278.

When the crusading forces found themselves in control of Constantinople, their election of a leader followed the precedent set by other crusading ventures, but the designation of Baldwin as emperor rather than king reflected the more elevated status of the new ruler and the more imperial context in which he would take up his new role. As Teresa Shawcross reminds us, the Latin emperors adopted Byzantine ceremonial costume, insisted on acclamation and *proskynesis* by their subjects, and eventually appropriated the title 'porphyrogenitus' (also used by Theodore II of Nicaea). But in 1204 as they planned the administration of the empire and the division of its lands, in accordance with the *Partitio imperii*, they needed allies to assist in administering the city and the territory subject to it. And here, although we can guess that there must have been many local Greeks who remained in the capital, and others in the provinces who came to terms with the crusader occupation, very few individuals are named.

Among the Greeks of Constantinople, Theodore Branas is known to have supported the Latins. Yet his wife, Agnes-Anna, the French princess who had previously been married to Alexios II and Andronikos I Komnenos, had refused to speak French with the crusaders, claiming that she had forgotten her native tongue. In one of those twists of fate, despite her adoption of Byzantine identity, she ended up among the supporters of Latin rule because her husband chose this way to survive the occupation. Similarly, as Boniface of Montferrat and Geoffrey of Villehardouin set off to realize the huge potential of the conquest, they needed and must have found allies like the unnamed Greek *archon* of the Peloponnese, who assisted Geoffrey of Villehardouin, the historian's nephew, in 1204 or 1205. Since so few are named in the surviving sources, one may suspect that they kept a judicious silence, similar to those fifteenth-century Greek refugees who sought entry to the patriciate in Venice and found it expedient not to stress their ethnic origins, as Sally McKee suggests.

Wars in the East Mediterranean had produced waves of refugees for centuries and Byzantium had absorbed many fleeing from Persian, Arab, Turkish and crusader occupation. In contrast, the events of 1204 succeeded in making refugees of those who had lived all their lives in Byzantium. From Constantinople a novel diaspora generated the two centres of exile in Asia Minor and Epiros, while a branch of the Komnenos family set up its own state in Trebizond. The three Greek centres were so small that they also needed allies and supporters, which involved greater diplomacy and negotiation both with each other and with authorities beyond the old borders of Byzantium. The plurality of courts also required the services of courtiers, to administer, collect taxation, praise the rulers in rhetorical speeches and depict them in painting, thus creating openings for talented young men. Judging by the variety of documentation produced, the Byzantine system of education was sustained: teachers expounded the classical curriculum to young George Akropolites and Theodore Laskaris (as Vincent Puech shows); patrons founded monasteries and commissioned new buildings, collections of miracle stories, copies of manuscripts and artefacts worthy of imperial courts.

The splintering of Byzantium into smaller units also sparked an increased demand for skilful negotiators who could conduct diplomacy with foreigners, often confirmed by marriage alliances and commemorated in artistic objects. Traces of such activity can be spotted in Armenian missions to the Nicaean court and to the Mongols, headed by the cleric Yakob, and by those officials who negotiated the betrothal of Philippa, niece of King Leo I, first to Sargis of Seleucia, then to Awshin, prince of Lambron, and finally to Theodore I of Nicaea. Although this third effort resulted in her marriage in 1214, it only lasted one year before Theodore divorced her in order to conduct a more useful marriage alliance with the Latin emperor of Constantinople, as Michael Angold reveals in his emphasis on the dedication of thirteenth-century rulers to the efficacy of such unions. Meanwhile in the western regions, the conflicting claims and interests of the rulers of Bulgaria, Serbia, Epiros and Morea made for endless shifts of military alliance and marital politics.

How these were conducted is not always clear: vernacular Greek was a common language for western rulers in Cyprus and the Morea, among Italian merchants and even the Seljuk principalities, where the sultan of Konya received letters in Greek from the Lusignan rulers of Cyprus. As Tassos Papacostas points out, the diplomats sent from both centres, Nicosia and Konya, employed Greek to negotiate terms. In relations with more distant powers like the Mongols, interpreters had to be used. Perhaps because the Armenians of Cilicia were refugees from their homeland further north and east, they had greater curiosity about different cultures, as Robert Thomson shows. In coming to terms with a new environment, they made numerous translations from other languages: He'tum of Korikos created an Armenian version of French history; translations of Arabic hippiatry and astronomy, and a book of dream interpretations; many theological translations from Latin and Syriac and one from Greek. While this did not diminish Armenian identity, it added cultural borrowings such as those from the Byzantine tradition visible in some illuminated manuscripts, and in the decoration of silks by Greek workers for King Leo III in the late thirteenth century. Overlapping and plural identities were also encouraged by Armenian contacts with the papacy; at the Council of Sis held in 1251 the Armenians declared their agreement with the western doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit from both Father and Son. Since this went against the Greek Orthodox view, theological differences obviously did not prevent artistic influence.

Is it possible that the experience of enforced movement stimulated awareness of other cultures? Certainly, the refugees from Byzantium in the fifteenth century seem to have been very sensitive about their identity in relation to their new surroundings, as Sally McKee demonstrates in her very thoughtful discussion of what made a person 'Byzantine'. In the case of the incoming occupation force of 1204, the crusader states of Palestine and Syria that had experienced profound acculturation in the East Mediterranean set up a model for the Latin Empire. But was the experience of the inhabitants of Constantinople who became refugees more likely to make them cling to what they associated with past glory? Their determination to be the first to win back the capital suggests as much. Yet on both sides, identities were altered by such dramatic upheavals. Given the perplexing state of political identity, the Byzantine Greeks may have emphasized their religious inheritance, as Günter Prinzing's remarkable discovery of 'prosopography from below' reveals. Yet this was not uniform, since in the Morea and Crete local Greeks, Venetians and Franks seem to have shared in liturgical services, in the patronage of icon painters, and even in the use of churches, to papal dismay.

In other parts of the Byzantine world, relations between groups of different religious varied from episodes of extreme hostility in Cyprus, where some Greek monks were burned at the stake as heretics by the Lusignan authorities, to the strong identification of Serbia with its Athonite monastery of Chilandar, which persisted long after the death of Alexios III Angelos. As a beacon of Greek Orthodoxy, Mount Athos continued to attract the patronage and devotion of Slavic, Georgian and later Russian rulers, which formed an important component of their collective

identities. It also continued as a major focus of Byzantine identity, reinforced by the entry of several emperors and leading ecclesiastics to its monasteries. Nonetheless, during the period 1204–61, when political and military developments generated a much larger number of smaller competing states, their complex relationships are reflected in the overlapping, plural and perhaps contradictory notions of identity: Greek by language, Latin by religion, half Frankish or Cretan by ethnic origin, for instance. This makes it impossible to give a short answer to the question, where was Byzantium? or, who was a Byzantine? But we hope that through this volume some more tentative, longer answers are beginning to take shape.

Chapter 16
Concluding Remarks

Catherine Holmes

All investigations into the prosopography of the Byzantine world are shaped by three key concerns. Who to include? Which geographical regions to study? Which sources to scrutinize? As the contributors to this volume demonstrate, these are particularly pressing and difficult questions for the prosopographer of the post-1204 Byzantine world given the political fragmentation of Byzantium in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and the emergence of new socio-political structures, many of them dominated by those with alternative ethnic and religious identities. But the fact that there are no easy answers to these questions should not deter attempts to execute a full prosopography of the Byzantine world in this period. Indeed, if anything, the studies in this volume demonstrate that active engagement with these definitional problems can make for a more sophisticated prosopography with the capacity to help us answer that elusive question of just what it meant to be Byzantine. This, of course, is a question with which many scholars have recently been wrestling from a variety of perspectives, particularly with reference to the later Byzantine centuries.[1]

Clearly prosopographical inquiry has the potential to make an immense contribution to this field, partly because of its focus on the relationship between individual persons and their surrounding networks, and partly because of the heterogeneity of source materials upon which prosopographical investigations are based. And, of course, the ways in which prosopography can help us to adumbrate the nature of Byzantine identity in the thirteenth century may have implications for other periods, above all for how we approach and use those prosopographical projects of the Byzantine world that already exist for the earlier and later centuries.

That said, prosopographical inquiries into the thirteenth-century Byzantine world undoubtedly present new challenges, particularly in comparison to the 1025–1180 PBW project. One might summarize some of these challenges using a less-or-more paradigm. On the one hand, the period to be covered in a thirteenth-

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1 Tia M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana–Chicago, IL, 2000); Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, PA, 2000); Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformation of the Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2007); Gill Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008); Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of the Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford, 2009).

century prosopography project is much shorter than that dealt with by the earlier PBW phases. Geographically, too, it could be argued that the area to be covered is much smaller, particularly if one decides that the project should focus on those areas traditionally seen as the successor states to twelfth-century Byzantium: Nicaea, Epiros and Trebizond. On the other hand one could argue a different case, suggesting that any prosopography of the Byzantine world in the thirteenth century should cover the same geographical canvas as in the pre-1180 era, or even, perhaps, be extended further than the eleventh- and twelfth-century horizons, particularly if we choose to interpret 'Byzantine' in terms of cultural influence rather than direct governance. That is to say, should we argue that the borrowing of elements of Byzantine political culture by new and neighbouring regimes, including those that operated in languages other than Greek and/or expressed alternative religious allegiances, merit extending a Byzantine prosopography beyond those regimes traditionally seen as the inheritors of the Byzantine political mantle? Here views are likely to differ. Throughout the contributions in this volume one can certainly find evidence for the role played by Byzantine models in thirteenth-century political culture across the region once dominated by the emperor in Constantinople, including in areas now governed by Latins, Serbs, Bulgarians and Turks. This is perhaps particularly striking in the numismatic record examined by Cécile Morrisson. Yet there are also sceptical voices about how to interpret this apparent Byzantine cultural reach. Michael Angold's investigation into marriage alliances between the Latin rulers of Constantinople and its neighbours demonstrates that Byzantine traditions were far from central in the operation of Latin power in the post-1204 world. Dimiter Angelov, meanwhile, has expressed doubts about how far a prosopography should be expected to take account of the intangibles of cultural influence. And, even if cultural assimilation and transfer are deemed legitimate objects of study for prosopographers of the thirteenth-century Byzantine world, Ljubomir Maksimović argues that it was earlier and idealized models, especially of the city of Constantinople, that resonated among neighbouring powers rather than the contemporary reality.

Equally uncertain is the question of whether the thirteenth-century Byzantine prosopographer has more or less evidence to draw upon than those working on other eras. Certainly, the greater ubiquity of archive documents in this period, especially written materials connected to the transfer and exploitation of land and commercial agreements, provides new source avenues to explore in this period in contrast to earlier centuries. This is particularly the case if one chooses to exploit the Athos monastic archives and the documentation produced by Italian traders. Also very striking is the degree to which the source materials begin to offer glimpses of non-elite and non-official individuals and communities to a much greater degree than in previous centuries, a point most forcefully made by Günter Prinzing's necrology. Donor inscriptions in churches might be another avenue to explore

in this non-elite context.[2] On the other hand, while some evidence booms in this period other useful sources for the prosopographer begin to diminish, including those that have been extensively deployed by the 1025–1180 PBW1. Lead seals, for instance, were certainly still used and produced in the thirteenth century but seem far less ubiquitous then than in their eleventh-century heyday. Equally, as the contributions to this volume make clear, evidence tends to bunch on a regional basis in the thirteenth century, leaving some areas with very little representation in the source record, Trebizond being a case in point.

Calibrating the significance of changes in the source base is one challenge for the prosopographer of the thirteenth-century Byzantine world. But there are other challenges too, some practical, others more conceptual, but all with important implications for executing a successful prosopography. One important difficulty, particularly if one chooses to adopt an inclusive approach, is the sheer number of ethnic and religious identities attached to individuals and communities represented in the source materials, and beyond that an equally vast, perhaps even greater, array of languages. As Rustam Shukurov shows in his analysis of the oriental margins, a proper understanding of just one region of the thirteenth-century Byzantine world requires an understanding of a complex system of Turkish dialects as well as several other completely different languages too. Beyond the plurality of religious and ethnic identities at issue the prosopographer also has to take account of a far more fragmented political universe than had pertained in Byzantium before 1180. In addition to the three Byzantine successor states, the prosopographer must be aware of Bulgarian, Serb and Armenian polities, Turkish emirates, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, Frankish lordships in Greece and the Peloponnese, as well as those regions under the direct or indirect control of Venice and Genoa, and the Latin kingdom of Cyprus. Enumeration of these units is, however, unlikely to be the end of the analytical process. For just as 'Byzantine' is a label that cannot be applied in a straightforward manner to individuals, communities or polities in this period, nor can 'Bulgarian', 'Serb', 'Armenian', 'Latin', 'Frank', 'Italian', 'Venetian' or 'Genoese'. Indeed, one of the leitmotifs of this volume is frequent mismatch between ethnic, religious and political identities and allegiances in this period. Nor is navigating the treacherous waters of identity the only problem facing the prosopographer of this period. Another factor that complicates and fragments the picture further is the complex structures of lordship and the world of shifting and often very localized loyalties that operated below the level of the principal political units. Indeed, these were often the key to the success or failure of those larger hegemonies. Among these lower-level political agents we need

[2] I owe this insight to a King's College London seminar presentation by Dr Angeliki Lymberopoulou on provincial church decoration in fourteenth-century Crete; this research will shortly appear as 'Fourteenth-century Provincial Cretan Church Decoration: The Case of the Painter Pagomenos and his Clientele', in Piotr L. Grotowski and Slawomir Skrzyniarz (eds), *Towards Rewriting? New Approaches to Byzantine Art and Archaeology, Krakow Symposium on Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 8–10 September 2008.

to take account of the Frankish fief-holders and Greek *archontes* whom Teresa Shawcross studies, but also the territorially powerful aristocrats associated with the Laskarid regime at Nicaea analysed by Vincent Puech. And, of course, while highly localized concerns had a vital role to play in the construction, blurring and negotiating of identities and allegiances so too did the interests of those powers with strong regional interests but who were, at least to some extent, off stage – powers such as Venice and Genoa, the Mongols, and the German emperor Frederick II, also king of Sicily.

The shifting sands of identity and allegiance in the Byzantine world during the thirteenth century make answering the first three questions with which I began these comments very difficult. In a world of limitless resources a Byzantine prosopography of this period should be as far-flung and inclusive as possible. We live in an era that is exceptionally interested in identity formation, and we are ourselves intrigued by the interplay and overlap between ethnicity, religion, politics, culture and economics. For these reasons alone developing a tool that helps us observe such processes at play in an earlier context that was indisputably characterized by hybridity and plurality has great value. That said, we cannot be certain that future generations will be interested in questions of identity to the same degree, but we would hope that any prosopography will be as useful to our successors as to ourselves. Future utility as well as current cultural context is, then, of concern when deciding how to proceed with prosopographical investigations into the Byzantine world in the thirteenth century. Also relevant, however, is practicability, a concern articulated most clearly by Tassos Papacostas, one of the most active contributors to the 1025–1180 PBW enterprise. The diversity and range of source materials, the variety of linguistic traditions, and the highly complex *dramatis personae* associated with the thirteenth century mean that undertaking a prosopography that is both fully inclusive and geographically far-flung would require a budget-busting team of scholars. But if this is the case, how then should one attempt to combine practicality with scholarly nuance and sophistication to produce a project with enduring qualities?

There are, of course, various practical limits one could impose. One would be to privilege sources written in Greek whether or not they were composed within territories controlled by the successor regimes of Nicaea, Trebizond or Epiros. Such a project would escape the truism that late Byzantine history has to be synonymous with the three most obvious inheritors of Constantinople's political mantel, yet it carries with it certain dangers. It might mean overlooking those with little association with the Greek language but who nonetheless lived within territories controlled by the Byzantine successor states, and who quite possibly identified themselves at a political level with those regimes. A language-led approach could also suggest that those areas that were no longer under any sort of direct Byzantine political control nonetheless remained basically Byzantine because some of their inhabitants spoke Greek. Yet, as Rustam Shukurov explains, in some areas formerly in the hands of the Byzantines, the Greek presence may have been as little as 30 per cent of the population by the mid-thirteenth century. In these circumstances

the fact that some inhabitants spoke Greek is not enough to identify such areas as Byzantine. For such regions to be Byzantine other attributes associated with Byzantine culture would need to be in play. On the other hand, while a broad-brush Greek language approach runs the danger of misrepresentation, so too does an overly narrow interpretation that sees the only true Byzantines as those who dwelt within the three Byzantine successor states, particularly if that perspective is limited to Greek speakers in those territories, something that would eliminate loyal followers from other language, ethnic and even religious groups.

All of this suggests that an alternative way to proceed might be to focus on the political followers of the successor Byzantine regimes whatever their ethnic, linguistic or religious background. But the problem with this approach is that it leaves little room for those individuals from outside the political elite who, as we have already noted, begin to surface with more regularity in the available source materials in this period, especially in the archival record. Moreover, the ubiquity of sources in this period, especially in Greek, that draw on a very hostile rhetoric of religious difference may make establishing exactly who was loyal to whom and for what reason extremely difficult. Even the allegiances of those who used to be thought of as Byzantine loyalists because of their polemical hostility towards the Latin other are now questioned. One notable example is St Neophytos of Cyprus, who managed to combine hostile rhetoric towards Latin unbelievers with some sort of political loyalty to the Lusignan king of Cyprus.[3] But perhaps the most important and obvious problem for any attempt to construct a prosopography of the Byzantine world around political loyalty to the regimes in Nicaea, Epiros and Trebizond, is that the city of Constantinople, itself under Latin control between 1204 and 1261, then falls out of the picture. And this despite the fact that many Greek speakers clearly remained within the city after its conquest, including those who served the new regime; and the fact that members of the Genoese and Pisan communities resident in Constantinople before 1204 had, according to Catherine Otten, already begun to term themselves as Constantinopolitans by the late twelfth century; and the fact that, as Michael Angold argues, even while the Latin rulers of the city after 1204 maintained some degree of exclusivity from their indigenous subjects, nonetheless they were forced by circumstance and exigency into practical negotiations with neighbouring powers.

The organization of this volume into sections dealing with the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, the eastern periphery of Byzantium, and then the West,

3 Catia Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times, and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 226–7 and 230–43; Catia Galatariotou, 'Testamentary Rule of Neophytos for the Hermitage of the Holy Cross near Ktima in Cyprus', in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35, 5 vols (Washington, DC, 2000), vol. 4, pp. 1338–73. On Neophytos see also the contribution of Tassos Papacostas in this volume. On the potential but also pitfalls of highly polemical texts as guides to religious and ethnic identity see Kolbaba, *Errors of the Latins*.

points towards an understanding of the late Byzantine world in terms of core and periphery. The running order of the chapters suggests that Constantinople, even under Latin control, remained integral to that Byzantine core, even if the long-term result of 1204 was that the role of Constantinople as the charismatic centre of Byzantine culture and politics was somewhat diminished. Drawing up who, where and what to include in a prosopography of the thirteenth-century Byzantine world will continue to be a demanding, quite possibly contested, but ultimately, I think, extremely satisfying journey of discovery. But I sense that unless it includes the complex array of individuals and communities found in contemporary Constantinople it will be a journey without real meaning.

Index

Greek surnames used for more than one individual are given in the masculine singular form in the main entry: in the case of female bearers of the name, the female form is mentioned with its own sub entry; when the principal surname is used as part of a series, the whole series is mentioned in the sub entry for both males and females. Page numbers in bold refer to maps.